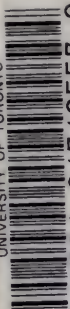


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Joseph Wright.

A Grammar

OF THE

DIALECT OF WINDHILL,

IN THE

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

*Illustrated by a Series of Dialect Specimens, phonetically rendered;
with a Glossarial Index of the Words used in the
Grammar and Specimens.*

BY

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DEPUTY PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht;
Vieles Reden thut es nicht.'

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To My Mother



PREFACE

My chief object in writing the following Grammar has been to furnish specialists in English philology with an accurate account of the Phonology and Accidence of one of the most interesting of the Yorkshire dialects. And in order to make the work as useful as possible to this class of scholars, I have taken special care to include in the Phonology fairly complete lists of the words which are in common use in the dialect and also exist in the literary language. This method of treatment has sometimes involved me in great difficulties; because in the case of words which seem to have had an abnormal development I could not always decide with certainty whether the seeming irregularities had arisen within the dialect itself, or whether the words in question had been introduced from the literary language at various periods, or were merely borrowings from some neighbouring dialect. These are difficulties which every writer of a scientific dialect grammar has to contend with. But it would manifestly have been dishonest on my part to have omitted any word or form which did not seem to have had a regular development. The result is that the grammar contains dozens of words the vocalism of which I have not been able to

explain satisfactorily, but I have nevertheless registered them in separate paragraphs, as being in common use in the dialect and of equal importance to the English philologist. Out of a great many such examples I will only mention a few here: **nuez** (OE. **nosu**) *nose*, **bied** (OE. **beard**) *beard*, **ut** (OE. **hāt**) *hot*, **friet** (OE. **fretan**) *to fret*, for which we should expect in the dialect **noiz** (§§ 105, 109), **bād** (§§ 61, 68), **uet** (§§ 122, 126), **freit** (§§ 82, 87). On the other hand, the present grammar will, I trust, help to throw some light upon Old English vowel quantities, besides showing how dialects still keep apart many vowel sounds which have fallen together in the literary language. Of the latter I will only mention a few examples, although a great many may be found in the grammar:—**jād** (OE. **geard**) *yard*, **jiəd** (OE. **gerd**) *yard, three feet*. **wāk** (OE. **weorc**) *work*, **wēk** (OE. **wyrcan**) *to work*. **meil** (OE. **melu**) *meal, flour*, **miel** (OE. **mæil**) *meal, repast*. **reit** (OE. **reocht**, **reht**) *right*, **rait** (OE. **writan**) *to write*, **rīt** (OE. **wyrhta**) *wright*.

In the treatment of the native element contained in the grammar I have generally started out from Old English, which in some respects presents fewer difficulties to the writer of a modern dialect grammar than Middle English with its numerous dialects. Had I, however, been a specialist in this period of our mother tongue, I should probably have been able to settle many minor points which remain unsolved in the present grammar. But still, in spite of my shortcomings in this respect, I hope that the book will be a welcome contribution to English philology.

In the treatment of the French element in the dialect I found, after trying many experiments, that the only

satisfactory plan was to start out from the present pronunciation of literary English. The words have come into the dialect at various periods and through various channels, and it is accordingly almost impossible to treat them historically. I have therefore contented myself with registering the present dialectical pronunciation of the French element, and for this purpose I have adopted, as the standard of literary English pronunciation, the sound-system in Sweet's *Primer of Spoken English*, which is fairly typical of the Southern pronunciation of educated people. A comparison of the development of the French and English elements in the dialect is interesting from many points of view. I will only draw attention to §§ 61, 203 and §§ 58, 202; but many other paragraphs will be found equally interesting both to English and French philologists. Any one, who is not thoroughly acquainted with the dialect, may possibly think that I have introduced into this part of the grammar many words which are not in common use; but such is not the case. I have been particularly careful in this respect. I will only mention one instance out of many where I may seem to have erred: *raiet akt riot act*, which is one of the commonest expressions in the dialect, a regular household phrase. What mother has not said to her naughty child hundreds of times, if *te duz ðat ø'gien al rīd ðī traiet akt øn reit øn oel*?

In the chapter on the consonants the chief interest naturally lies in the gutturals. In this part of the grammar I have tried to give complete lists of the words which differ in their development from literary English, I mean such words as: *flik flitch*, *reik to reach*, *brig bridge*, *flig fledge*, *duef dough*, etc.

It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years, but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

The Index, which has been a laborious piece of work, contains all the words occurring in the grammar.

As a guarantee for the general accuracy of the material contained in the book, I need only state that I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up.

In conclusion I have the pleasant task of expressing my most cordial thanks to three friends—Professor Napier, Professor Holthausen, and the Rev. A. L. Mayhew—who have given me much valuable help in the work.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

OXFORD,
January 1893.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Angl. = Anglian.	O. Fr. = Old French.
Dan. = Danish.	O. Fris. = Old Frisian.
dial. = dialect.	OHG. = Old High German.
Fr. = French.	O. Icel. = Old Icelandic.
gen. = genitive.	O. Ir. = Old Irish.
Germ. = German, Germanic.	O. Low Germ. = Old Low German.
Goth. = Gothic.	O. Norm. Fr. = Old Norman French.
Lat. = Latin.	O.N. = Old Norse.
lit. = literally.	O. North. = Old Northumbrian.
lit. Engl. = literary English.	O. Swed. = Old Swedish.
Low Germ. = Low German.	pl. = plural.
ME. = Middle English.	pret. = preterite.
MHG. = Middle High German.	pp. = past participle.
Mid. Du. = Middle Dutch.	sing., sg. = singular.
M. Low Germ. = Middle Low German.	Scot. = Scotch.
Norw. = Norwegian.	Swed. = Swedish.
occ. = occasionally.	W. = Windhill.
OE. = Old English.	WS. = West Saxon.
	> = has become.

The asterisk (*) prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form.

WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE GRAMMAR.

- Cotgr. = A French and English Dictionary, composed by Mr. Randle Cotgrave; with another in English and French, edited by J. Howell.
- EEPr. = Early English Pronunciation, by A. J. Ellis.
- E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.
- Etym. Dict. = Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, by W. W. Skeat.
- Florio = A Worlde of Wordes, or most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, by John Florio, London, 1598.
- Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von H. Paul.

The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by J. A. H. Murray.

N.E.D. = New English Dictionary, edited by J. A. H. Murray and H. Bradley.

P. B. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, herausgegeben von H. Paul und W. Braune.

Prompt. Parv. = Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, dictionarius Anglo-Latinus princeps, auctore fratre Galfrido, grammatico dicto, ex ordine fratrum predicatorum, Northfolciensi, circa a. d. MCCCXL, ad fidem codicum recensuit Albert Way, London, 1865.

Sievers, OE. Gr. = Angelsächsische Grammatik, von E. Sievers.

Stratmann = Dictionary of the Old English Language, by F. H. Stratmann (new edition, by H. Bradley).

Sweet, H.E.S. = History of English Sounds, by H. Sweet.

Sweet, NE. Gr. = New English Grammar, by H. Sweet.

Synopsis of Old English Phonology, by A. L. Mayhew.

Town. Myst. = The Towneley Mysteries (printed for the Surtees Society).

The following list of letters may be useful to those who consult the book without first reading the chapter on pronunciation :—

ø = the e in German Gabe.

ē = the i in lit. Engl. bird.

j = the y „ you.

ŋ = the ng, n „ sing, song, drink.

š = the sh „ she.

tš = the ch „ choose.

p = the th „ thin.

θ = the th „ then.

dž = the j „ just.

GRAMMAR



INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. WINDHILL is a manufacturing village in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, three miles North of Bradford.

The dialect belongs to the Eastern North Midland group, which embraces the whole of South Yorkshire. Dr. Ellis (EEPr. v. p. 364) distinguishes nine varieties: The Western group containing var. 1. Huddersfield and var. 2. Halifax. The North Central group containing var. 3. Keighley, var. 4. Bradford, var. 5. Leeds, var. 6. Dewsbury. The South Central group containing var. 7. Rotherham and var. 8. Sheffield. The Eastern group containing var. 9. Doncaster and the Eastern slip.

Of these nine varieties the Windhill dialect is most closely related to numbers 3. 4. 5.

PHONOLOGY



CHAPTER I.

PRONUNCIATION.

A. The Vowels.

§ 2. The Windhill dialect contains the following vowel sounds :—

Short vowels	a,	e,	i,	o,	u,	ə
Long „	ā,		ī,		ū,	ē
Short diphthongs	ai,	ei,		oi,	ui	
		eu,	iu,	ou		
		ee,	ie,	oe,	ue	
Long „	āə					
Triphthongs	aiə,		iuə,	ouə		

NOTE.—To these must be added l, m, n, ŋ in the function of vowels. For examples see the corresponding consonants §§ 17-19.

§ 3. In the following paragraphs will be given a brief description of the Windhill vowel-system. For which purpose I have adopted the notation as given in Sweet's Primer of Phonetics. In the autumn of 1886 Dr. Sweet was kind enough to render me considerable help in the analysis of the W. vowel sounds; thus enabling me to fix

the sounds far more accurately than would otherwise have been the case, had it not been for his kind assistance. The late Dr. Ellis, to whom I dictated the Dialect Test (EPr. v. pp. 389-90) and the dialect words in his Classified Word List (pp. 391-4), was also of some help to me. But a comparison of his appreciation of the W. vowels with that of Dr. Sweet and my own will show that we differ on several minor points.

All the diphthongs and triphthongs have the stress on the first element. In my transcription I have written *ie*, *ue*, &c., but the first element is really a medium long vowel, which stands in the same relation to the corresponding short vowel as the lit. Engl. vowel in *feet* does to *fit* or *seek* to *sick*.

§ 4. *a* (mid-back-wide) like the *a* in German *Mann*, but with the tongue slightly more advanced.

lat *late*, *faðe(r)* *father*, *mak* *to make*, *as* *to ask*, *laðe(r)* *ladder*, *dlad* *glad*, *tšap* *chap*, *ratn* *rat*, *paste(r)* *pasture*, *apren* *apron*, *kwaleti* *quality*, *vari* *very*.

ā (mid-back-wide) like the *a* in German *Name* and in lit. Engl. *father*, but with slightly more advanced position of the tongue as in short *a*. After our *ā* there is also a trace of a glide (*ā^ə*), which however is not sufficiently developed to be conveniently represented in print.

rām *room*, *fāl* *fowl*, *bān* *child*, *wām* *warm*, *wāk* (noun) *work*, *fādin* *farthing*, *sāvnt* *servant*, *pāðe(r)* *powder*.

ai = *a* + *i*:

raiv *to tear*, *mais* *mice*, *tais* *to entice*.

aiə = *ai* + *ə*:

aien *iron*, *faie(r)* *fire*, *raiet* *riot*.

āə = *ā* + *ə*:

dāə(r) *dare*, *sāə(r)* *sour*, *tāə(r)* *tower*.

§ 5. *e* (low-front-narrow) like the *ä* in Swed. *lära* and the first element of the diphthong in lit. Engl. *care* but short. Ellis identified it as mid-front-wide, but Sweet and myself agree in the above analysis.

elp to *help*, *bed* *bed*, *brek* to *break*, *omen* *among*, *weš* to *wash*, *bleg* *blackberry*, *geðe(r)* to *gather*, *ðen* *then*, *šepste(r)* *starling*, *len* to *lend*, *gezlin* *gosling*, *depp* *depth*, *lek* to *leak*, *frend* *friend*, *tremł* to *tremble*, *blenkit* *blanket*, *fešn* *fashion*, *lenit* *linnet*.

ei = *e* + *i* :

feit to *fight*, *beid* *bead*, *eit* to *eat*, *leits* *leech*, *reik* to *reach*, *lein* to *lean*, *ei* *high*.

eu = *e* + *u* :

eu *ewe*, *feu* *few*, *seu* to *sew*.

ee = *e* + *e* :

beed to *bathe*, *dee* *day*, *breed* to *resemble*, *bleet* to *bleat*, *tlee* *clay*, *leek* to *play*, *beekn* *bacon*, *kweet* *quart*, *meeste(r)* *master*.

§ 6. *i* (high-front-wide) like the *i* in lit. Engl. *bit* :

lig to *lie down*, *wik* *quick*, *alive*, *in* to *hang*, *sitš* *such*, *figd* *fledged*, *dwinl* to *dwindle*, *litl* *little*, *sili* *silly*, *ivø(r)* *ever*, *rik* *smoke*, *divl* *devil*, *tšimli*, *chimney*, *šimi* *chemise*.

ī (high-front-narrow) like the *ie* in German *Biene*. It is a pure long vowel, not like the *ee* in South. Engl. *feed*, which is a diphthong (*ij*) :

mild *mild*, *nīt* *night*, *fild* *field*, *wil* (adv.) *well*, *frīt* *fright*, *bild* to *build*, *imin* *evening*, *kīl* to *cool*, *lītnin* *lightning*, *sī* *sigh*, *nī* *knee*, *bif* *beef*.

iø = *i* + *e* :

bied *beard*, *iøp* *earth*, *swie(r)* to *swear*, *friet* to *fret*, *fie(r)* to *laugh* or *sneer at*, *dried* to *dread*, *tlien* *clean*, *bried* *bread*, *bie(r)* *beer*, *vīel* *veal*, *fīes* *fierce*.

iu = **i** + **u** :

tliu a ball of string or worsted, **spiu** to vomit, **tiuk** took, **lium** loom, **iniu** (pl.) enough, **briu** to brew, **frutē(r)** future, **bliu** blue, **riubub** rhubarb.

iue = **iu** + **e** :

siue(r) sure, **pie(r)** pure.

§ 7. **o** (low-back-wide-round) like the **o** in lit. Engl. not:

frozn frozen, **lop** flea, **bodi** body, **wotē(r)** water, **solt** salt, **moni** many, **jole** yellow, **sori** sorry, **tof** tough, **foṭnit** fortnight, **kotn** cotton, **ont** aunt, **rost** to roast.

oi = **o** + **i** :

poil to give ungrudgingly, **boil** to boil, **toist** toast.

ou = **o** + **u**. But here the first element is low-back-narrow-round like the **aw** in lit. Engl. law:

koud cold, **doute(r)** daughter, **floun** flown, **kouk** coke, **grou** to grow, **pout** thought, **loup** to jump, **out** ought, **tout** taught, **poutš** to poach, **skoud** to scald.

oue = **ou** + **e** :

foue(r) four.

oe = **o** + **e**, the first element of which is the same as the **o** in **ou** :

koef calf, **woef** insipid, **boek** beam, **boeld** bald, **poem** palm, **soev** salve, **moek** maggot, **boen** born, **noēde(r)** neither, **snoe** snow, **goem** heed, care, **goeki** left handed, **oeēde(r)** to order, **džoenes** jaundice.

§ 8. **u** (high-back-wide-round) like the **u** in lit. Engl. put:

fun (pp.) found, **flute(r)** to flutter, **tul** to, **fuml** to fumble, **ut** hot, **muēde(r)** mother, **uēde(r)** udder, **butše(r)** butcher, **buzed** butterfly, **nuvl** novel.

ū (high-back-narrow-round) like the **u** in Germ. gut. In

the W. dialect it is a pure long vowel and not a diphthong (uw) like the oo in Southern Engl. food:

šūl *shovel*, ebūn *above*, būkp *bulk, size*.

ui = u + i. The first element of which is not the u in put. Dr. Ellis identified the first element as mid-back-narrow-round like the o in Germ. Bote, but this is certainly not the sound. At first Dr. Sweet gave the same analysis as Dr. Ellis, but he was afterwards inclined to think that it might be mid-back-narrow-round with outer rounding like the o in Swedish sol. But this too is hardly our sound. The nearest analysis seems to me to be the tongue position of high-back-narrow-round, like the u in Germ. gut, ou in French sou, with the lip position of mid-back-narrow-round:

bluid *blood*, uin *to harass, treat badly*, gruīn *snout of a pig*.

ue = u + e. The first element is the same as the u in ui:

nuez *nose*, smue(r) *to smother*, due(r) *door*, juēk *yolk*, kuēm *comb*, duef *dough*, dlue(r) *to stare*, kued *cord*, tluek *cloak*, pue(r) *poor*.

§ 9. e (mid-mixed-narrow) like the e in German Gabe, but with the tongue slightly more retracted. It is not identical with the -er in lit. Engl. better, which is mid-mixed-wide. It occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables:

jestede *yesterday*, sterek *heifer*, fere *furrow*, weri *to worry*, bed *but*, sperit *spirit*, vale *value*.

ē (low-mixed-narrow) like the i in lit. Engl. bird, but with the tongue rather more advanced. It only occurs in stressed syllables:

gēs *grass*, bēk *birch*, wēd *word*, mēðe(r) *murder*, wēk *to work*, kēsmes *Christmas*, gēt *great*, kēnz *currants*.

B. The Consonants.

§ 10. The W. dialect contains the following consonants :
b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, r, p, s, š, t, þ, ǿ, v, w, z, ž.

§ 11. b (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English b. It occurs initially, medially, and finally :

bān child, beed to bathe, bun (pp.) bound, brig bridge, bleb blister, breed to resemble, act like another person, brit bright. kubed cupboard, riubub rhubarb, uzbn husband. dub a small pool of water, nub to nudge.

§ 12. d (gum-stop-voice) like lit. English d. It occurs in all positions :

duef dough, dī to die, diu to do, dwīnl to dwindle, džais joist, dlas glass. bodm bottom, fādin farthing, wide widow. nobed lit. not but, only, grund ground, od to hold, snod smooth, boged ghost, apparition.

§ 13. f (lip-teeth-open-breath) like lit. Engl. f. It occurs in all positions :

feu few, foil foal, feit to fight, flig fledge, fan (pret.) found. duefi cowardly, woefi insipid, fift fifth, druft drought. kaf chaff, duef dough, koef calf, laif life.

§ 14. g (back-stop-voice) like lit. Engl. g. It occurs in all positions :

geen near, direct, galøk lefthand, gāl the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye, guid good, goemlæs foolish, silly. blegs blackberries, boged ghost, pigin small water can, flegstn flagstone. ig mood, temper, ug to carry, lig to lie down, neeg to gnaw.

§ 15. j (front-open-voice) like lit. English y in you. It only occurs initially :

jest yeast, *jestede* yesterday, *jole* yellow, *jun* young. I have sometimes heard the sound medially in *teelje(r)*, *teele(r)* tailor.

§ 16. **k** (back-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. **k**. It occurs in all positions :

kā cow, *kest* to cast, *kei* key, *koud* cold, *koul* to rake, *kīl* to cool. *skrat* to scratch, *bake* tobacco, *beekr* bacon, *oks* ox. *flik* flitch of bacon, *reik* to reach, *wik* quick, alive, *bōk* birch.

§ 17. **l** (gum-side-voice) like ordinary English **l**. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel in unaccented syllables only :

leek to play, *loin* lane, *len* to lend, *leeð* barn, *luensem* lonely, *leelek* lilac, *loup* to jump. *olin* holly, *bīld* to build, *twilt* quilt. *koil* coal, *steil* to steal, *wīl* (adv.) well.

Examples of vocalic **l** are : *kitl* to tickle, *adl* to earn, *satl* to settle, *spinl* spindle, *rasl* to wrestle.

§ 18. **m** (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. **m**. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables :

meitš to measure, *mun* must, *muin* moon, *māt* to moult. *treml* to tremble, *imin* evening, *sīmin-dlas* mirror. *steim* to bespeak, *gam* game, *freem* to make a beginning, *goem* heed, care.

Examples of vocalic **m** are : *boðm* bottom, *fadm* fathom, *fipms* fivepence, *wiepm* weapon, *kindm* (OE. *cynedōm*) kingdom.

§ 19. **n** (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. **n**. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables :

nie(r) kidney, *nīt* night, *ner-neel* corn on the foot, *nub*

to nudge, **noeðe(r)** 'neither. **snoe** snow, **inif** enough, **moni** many, **sind** to rinse, wash out, **spinl** spindle. **gēn** to grin, **bin** within, **fādin** farthing, **runin** running.

Examples of vocalic **n** are: **frozn** frozen, **brusn** (pp.) burst, **ratn** rat, **seldn** seldom, **getn** (pp.) got, **tšozn** chosen, **pāzn** thousand.

§ 20. **ɲ** (back-nasal-voice) like **ng**, **n** in lit. Engl. sing, song, drink, drunk. As a consonant it only occurs in accented, and as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

blenɲ blank, **brin** to bring, **tenz** tongs **finɲ(r)** finger, **in** to hang, **blenkit** blanket, **pin** thing.

Examples of vocalic **ɲ** are: **brokɲ** broken, **beəgn** bargain, **drukɲ** drunk, drunken, **wokɲ** to waken.

§ 21. **p** (lip-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. **p**. It occurs initially, medially, and finally:

poem palm, **poez** to kick, **penəp** pennyworth. **speen** to wean, **spitek** spigot, **api** happy, **apl** apple, **stapl** staple. **lop** flea, **elp** to help, **sweep** the handle of a machine, **saip** to ooze or drain out slowly.

§ 22. **r** (gum-open-voice). Before a following vowel **r** is a gently trilled sound. Final **r** is also slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. fear, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. far. In order to distinguish strong and weak **r** the latter is uniformly written (**r**) in this grammar:

raiv to tear, **root** to bray, **roem** to roam, **reik** to reach, **rām** room, **brek** to break, **ren** wrong. **sare** to serve, **marə** to match, **feri** first turn, **barə** barrow. **ger** up to get up.

swie(r) to swear, **pie(r)** pear, **smue(r)** to smother, **wee(r)** to spend money.

§ 23. **s** (blade-open-breath) like the **s** in lit. Engl. *sit*. It occurs in all positions:

sal shall, **sud** should, **sīt** sight, **seem** lard, **sāk** to suck, **snod** smooth, **steim** to bespeak, **strie** straw, **speik** to speak, **siuge(r)** sugar, **swiel** to gutter (of a candle). **koese** cause-way, **brusn** (pp.) burst, **rāst** rust, **omast** almost, **prosl** thrush. **as** ash, **ashes**, **guis** goose, **ās** house, **oks** ox, **oes** horse, **ius** use.

§ 24. **š** (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. Engl. *sh* in *she*. It occurs far more frequently initially and finally than medially:

šuin shoes, **šimi** chemise, **šap** shape, **šak** to shake, **šuče(r)** to shudder. **tšons** chance, **tšeeme(r)** chamber, **tšiuz** to choose, **fešn** fashion. **weš** to wash, **rediš** radish, **fotš** to fetch, **bleitš** to bleach, **mitš** much.

§ 25. **t** (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English *t*. It occurs in all positions:

tak to take, **temz** hop-sieve, **toist** toast, **teu** to work zealously, **tluep** cloth. **foṭn** (pp.) fought, **fiute(r)** future, **wāte** weekday. **gēt** great, **fouet** fourth, **ut** hot, **lat** lath.

§ 26. **p** (teeth-open-breath) like the **th** in lit. Engl. *thin*. It occurs initially and finally:

pak thatch, **pāzn** thousand, **pout** thought, **priep** to contradict, dispute. **brop** broth, **māp** mouth, **diep** death, **swāp** the skin of bacon.

§ 27. **ṭ** (teeth-open-voice) like the **th** in lit. English *then*. It occurs initially only in words which had formerly the weak stress; medially between vowels; and finally after vowels:

čai, čī *thy*, čīs *this*, čēn *then*. šučē(r) *to shudder*, pāčē(r) *powder* fečē(r) *feather*, sočē(r) *solder*. buič *booth*, leeč *barn*, smuič *smooth*.

§ 28. *v* (lip-teeth-open-voice) like the *v* in lit. Engl. *vine*. Initially it only occurs in words of French origin :

vari very, *viel veal*, *vois voice*. *ave-meil oatmeal*, *navi canal*. *neiv fist*, *raiv to tear*, *praiv to thrive*.

§ 29. *w* (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *w* in *wet*. It only occurs initially and medially :

wāk (noun) *work*, *wen thong*, *wen when*, *wīl wheel*, *wik quick*, *alive*, *wām warm*. *ewee away*, *dwinl to dwindle*, *twais twice*, *kweet quart*, *kwaletī quality*, *swiet to sweat*, *swetš a small sample of cloth*.

§ 30. *z* (blade-open-voice) like the *z* in lit. Engl. *zeal*, *freeze*. Initially it only occurs in *ziel zeal*. It is common medially and finally :

uzbn husband, *meze(r) measure*, *rīzd rancid (of bacon)*, *frozn frozen*, *fuzi soft*, *spongy*, *buzed butterfly*, *gizn to choke*. *temz hop-sieve*, *ez as*, *sičez scissors*, *tšiuz to choose*.

§ 31. *ž* (blade-point-open-voice) like the *s* in lit. Engl. *measure*. It only occurs after *d* and *n* :

džoul to knock, *strike*, *džais joist*, *džudž judge*, *sādžn sergeant*, *eedž age*, *tseedž charge*, *inž hinge*, *sinž to singe* ; but in words of French origin we have *indžn engine*, *moendž mange*.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

1. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 32. Windhill **a** corresponds to:

1. OE. **æ(a)** in originally closed syllables, § 57: **as** *ashes*, **fan** (pret.) *found*, **gam** *game*, **lat** *late*, **sal** *shall*, **sam** *up*, (OE. **samnian**) *to pick up*, **pak** *thatch*.

2. Rarely OE. **a(æ)** in open syllables, § 71: **faðe(r)** *father*, **mak** *to make*, **tak** *to take*.

3. Shortening of OE. **ā**, § 125: **as** *to ask*, **spatl** *spittle*.

4. Shortening of OE. **æ**, §§ 135, 144: **blast** *blast*.

bad *bad*, **laðe(r)** *ladder*.

5. Rarely shortening of OE. **ēa**, § 186: **tšap** *chap*.

6. Lit. Engl. **æ** in French words, § 194: **galek** (O. Fr. **gale**) *left hand*, **ratn** *rat*, **vale** *value*.

7. Lit. Engl. **ā** in French words, § 195: **basted** *bastard*, **paste(r)** *pasture*.

8. Rarely lit. Engl. **ei** in French words, § 196: **apren** *apron*.

9. Lit. Engl. *o* (through the influence of the preceding *w*) in French words, § 202: *kwaleti quality*, *warend to war-rant*.

10. Lit. Engl. *e* before *r* in French words, § 208: *tarie(r) terrier*, *vari very*.

e.

§ 33. Windhill *e* corresponds to:

1. Germanic *e*, and the *i*-umlaut of *a* in originally closed syllables; and also when *e* was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, §§ 72-3: *delf delf*, *elp to help*, *leðe(r) leather*, *melt to melt*, *weft weft*.

bed bed, *ketl kettle*, *lenp* (by assimilation) *length*, *mens neatness*, *set to set*.

2. Rarely OE. *e* in open syllables, § 88: *brek to break*, *get to get*.

3. Germ. *a* before *a* following *g*, *n*, *š*, §§ 59, 197: *beg bag*, *bleg blackberry*, *emen among*, *ren wrong*, *senk sank*. *eš ashtree*, *weš to wash*.

4. Rarely OE. *a(æ)* in other cases, § 60: *eltæ(r) halter*, *geðe(r) to gather*, *wesp wasp*.

5. Rarely OE. *o*, § 108: *ðen then*, *wen when*.

6. Shortening of Germanic *æ* (W.S. *æ*, O. North. *ē*), § 134: *bleðe(r) bladder*, *šepste(r) starling*, *slept slept*.

7. Shortening of OE. *æ* (*i*-umlaut of *ā*), § 143: *fleš flesh*, *len to lend*, *les less*.

8. Shortening of OE. *ē*, *æ* (*i*-umlaut of *ō*), § 148: *bled bled*, *gezlin gosling*, *met met*.

9. Shortening of Anglian *ēo* (= W.S. *īe*) § 192: *depp depth*, *ten ten*.

10. Shortening of OE. *ēa*, § 186: *lek leak*, *red (adj.) red*.

11. Shortening of OE. *ēo*, § 192: *breſt breast, frend friend*.

12. Lit. Engl. *e* in French words, § 206: *demek potato disease, mel to meddle, treml to tremble*.

13. Lit. Engl. *æ* before *g, n, ſ* in French words, § 197: *dregſn dragon, blenkit blanket, feſn fashion*.

14. Rarely lit. Engl. *i* in French words, § 212: *lenit linnet, rebit rivet*.

i.

§ 34. Windhill *i* corresponds to :

1. OE. *i*, § 89: *bin* (OE. *binnan*) *within*, *bitn bitten, find to find, lig to lie down, wik quick, alive*.

2. OE. *e* (i-umlaut of *a*) before an original *ŋ* (now *ŋ* or *nž*), § 76: *in* (ME. *hengen*) *to hang*, *sinž to singe, pinſk to think*.

3. Rarely OE. *e* in other cases, § 77: *kil to kill, sitš such, wilw willow*.

4. OE. *y* (i-umlaut of *u*), § 117: *brig bridge, flig* (ME. *figge*) *fledge, ig* (OE. *hyge*) *mood, temper*.

5. Shortening of OE. *ī*, § 160: *dwinl to dwindle, fift fifth*.

6. Shortening of OE. *ȳ* (i-umlaut of *ū*), § 177: *litl little, wiſh to wish*.

7. Rarely shortening of Germanic *ǣ*, § 136: *ridl riddle, sili silly*.

8. Rarely shortening of OE. *ǣ* (i-umlaut of *ā*), § 145: *ive(r) ever, ivri every*.

9. Rarely shortening of OE. *ē*, older *īe*, § 150, note: *rik to smoke (of a chimney)*.

10. Rarely shortening of OE. *ēo*, § 192: *divl devil, sik sick*.

11. Lit. Engl. *i* in French words, § 211: **konsiðe(r)** to *consider*, **live(r)** to *deliver*, **tšimli** *chimney*.

12. Lit. Engl. *e* before nasals in French words, § 209: **lints** *lentils*, **šimi** *chemise*.

O.

§ 35. Windhill *o* corresponds to:

1. West Germanic *o* in originally closed syllables; and also when *o* was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an *l, m, n, r*, § 100: **boðm** *bottom*, **foðn** (pp.) *fought*, **loþ** *flea*, **frozn** *frozen*, **olin** (ME. *holen*) *holly-tree*, **snod** *smooth*, **tšozn** *chosen*, **prosl** *thrush*.

2. Rarely OE. *o* in open syllables, § 110: **bodi** *body*, **popi** *poppy*.

3. OE. *a* preceded by *w* and not followed by *g, n, š*, or *r* + consonant, § 58: **swole** *swallow*, **swop** to *exchange*, **wo(r)** (accented form) *was*, **wote(r)** *water*.

4. OE. *ea(a)* before *ls, lt*, § 58: **fols** *false*, **molt** *malt*, **solt** *salt*.

5. Rarely OE. *a* in other cases, § 58: **omest** *almost*, **oles** *always*, **moni** *many*.

6. Rarely OE. *eo(e)*, § 80: **jole** (OE. *geolu*) *yellow*, **foťš** to *fetch*.

7. Shortening from OE. *ā*, § 125: **sori** *sorry*.

8. Shortening of OE. *ō*, § 169: **foðe(r)** *fodder*, **tof** *tough*.

9. Rarely shortening from OE. *ēo*, § 192: **foťi** *forty*, **foťnit** *fortnight*.

10. Lit. Engl. *o* in French words, § 214: **boni** *nice*, *pretty*, **džosl** to *jostle*, **kotn** *cotton*, **poridž** *porridge*.

11. Lit. Engl. *ā* before *n* + consonant, in French words, § 200: **dons** *dance*, **ont** *aunt*, **tšons** *chance*.

12. Rarely lit. Engl. *ou* in French words, § 217: **gol** *goal*, **rost** to *roast*.

u.

§ 36. Windhill u corresponds to :

1. OE. u, § 111 : **drukn** *drunk*, **fun** (pp) *found*, **grund** *ground*, **kudl** *to embrace*, **kum** *to come*, **punə(r)** *thunder*, **ug** *to carry*, **unded** *hundred*.

2. Rarely OE. o, § 107 : **fiute(r)** *to flutter*, **uvm** *oven*.

3. Rarely OE. i, § 97 : **kud** (OE. *cwidu*) *cud*, **tul** (ME. *til*) *to*.

4. Rarely OE. y, § 121 : **bluš** *to blush*, **bunl** *bundle*.

5. Shortening from OE. ā, § 126 : **ut** *hot*, **wun** *one*.

6. Shortening of OE. ō, § 169 b ; **munþ** *month*, **muðe(r)** *mother*, **sluf** (OE. *slōg*) *slough*.

7. Shortening of OE. ū, § 174 : **fus** *fuss*, **plum** *plum*, **uðe(r)** *udder*, **uzbn** *husband*.

8. Lit. Engl. u in French words, § 227 : **butše(r)** *butcher*, **puš** *to push*, **put** *to put*.

9. Lit. Engl. ʁ in French words, § 226 : **buzəd** *butterfly*, **mutn** *mutton*, **uml** *humble*.

10. Rarely lit. Engl. o in French words, § 215 : **nuvl** *novel*.

ə.

§ 37. Windhill ə corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. e, § 81 : **beri** *berry*, **jestede** *yesterday*.

2. Rarely OE. i, § 91 : **sterek** (OE. *stirc*, *styric*) *heifer*.

3. OE. u before a following r, § 113 : **bere** *borough*, **fere** *furrow*.

4. OE. y before a following r, § 120, (2) : **beri** *to bury*, **weri** *to worry*.

5. Lit. Engl. i before a following r in French words, § 213 : **sperit** *spirit*.

2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 38. Windhill ā corresponds to :

1. OE. ū, § 171: *ās house, dāst dust, kā cow, rām room, rāst rust, slām slumber, pāzn thousand.*
2. OE. medial -ug-, § 114: *fāl fowl, kāl cowl.*
3. Rarely OE. u before n + consonant, § 115: *ānd hound, drānd to drown.*
4. OE. a, ea before r + consonant, § 61: *ād hard, bān child, wām warm.*
5. OE. e, eo before r + consonant, § 74: *āt heart, dwāf dwarf, wāk (noun) work.*
6. OE. ēo before r + consonant, § 189: *dālin darling, fādin farthing.*
7. O. Fr. er before a following consonant, § 207: *pāsn parson, sāvnt servant.*
8. Lit. Engl. au in French words, § 235: *dāt doubt, gān gown, pāče(r) powder.*

ī.

§ 39. Windhill ī corresponds to :

1. OE. i before ld, § 92: *mīld mild, wīld wild.*
2. OE. i before ht, § 93: *brīt bright, nīt night, sīt sight.*
3. OE. medial -ig-, § 94: *stīl (OE. stigel) stile, tīl tile.*
4. OE. e before ld, § 78: *fīld field, wīld to wield.*
5. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 79: *bīzm besom, wīl (adv.) well.*
6. OE. y before ht, § 118: *flīt flight, frīt fright.*
7. OE. y before ld, § 119: *bīld to build.*
8. Germanic ē (WS. ē, O. North. ē), § 130: *īmin evening, nīdl needle, prīd thread.*

9. OE. *ē*, § 155: *ī* *he*, *wī* *we*.

10. OE. *ē*, *ǣ* (i-umlaut of *ō*), § 147: *blīd* to *bleed*, *gīs* *geese*, *kīl* to *cool*.

11. Anglian *ē*, *ēo* (= WS. *īe*), § 150: *belīv* to *believe*, *lītīn* *lightning*, *sīn* *seen*.

12. Rarely OE. *ī*, § 158: *sī* to *sigh*.

13. OE. *ēo*, § 187; *dīp* *deep*, *nī* *knee*, *trī* *tree*, *wīl* *wheel*.

14. Lit. Engl. *ij* in French words, § 232: *bīf* *beef*, *pīs* *piece*.

ū.

§ 40. Windhill *ū* corresponds to:

1. Rarely OE. *o*, § 106: *šūl* *shovel*, *stūp* (ME. *stolpe*) *a post*.

2. Rarely OE. *u*, § 112: *būkþ* (ME. *bulke*) *bulk*, *size*, *e-būn* (OE. *on-bufan*) *above*, *wūl* *wool*.

ē.

§ 41. Windhill *ē* corresponds to:

1. OE. *ær* before a following consonant, § 69: *gēs* (OE. *gærs*) *grass*.

2. OE. *ir* before a following consonant, § 90: *bēk* *birch*, *pēd* *third*.

3. Rarely OE. *or* before a following consonant, § 104, (3): *wēd* *word*, *wēld* *world*.

4. OE. *ur* before a following consonant, § 113, (1): *dēst* *durst*, *snēt* (ME. *snurtin*) to *snort*, *snore*.

5. OE. *yr* before a following consonant, § 120, (1): *bēdn* *burden*, *bēp* *birth*, *mēðe(r)* *murder*, *wēk* to *work*.

6. OE. *ī* (?) with metathesis of *r*, § 161: *kēsmeš* *Christ-mas*, *kēsīn* to *christen*.

7. OE. *ēa* with metathesis of *r*, § 185: *gēt* *great*.

8. Lit. Engl. *ē* in French words, § 228: *fēniš* to furnish, *kēn* currant.

3. The Diphthongs.

ai.

§ 42. Windhill *ai* corresponds to:

1. OE. *i*, § 156: *ais* ice, *bait* to bite, *raiv* to tear, *sail* (ME. *silen*) to strain, *swaim* to climb a tree, *waif* wife.
2. OE. *ȳ* (i-umlaut of *ū*), § 175: *aid* hide, *skin*, *mais* mice.
3. Rarely OE. *i*, § 95: *ai* (accented form) *I*.
4. Lit. Engl. *ai* in French words, § 229: *paint* pint, *sailm* asylum, *tais* to entice.

ei.

§ 43. Windhill *ei* corresponds to:

1. OE. *e* (Germanic *e*, and the i-umlaut of *a*) in originally open syllables, § 87: *beid* bead, *eit* to eat, *meit* meat, *neiv* fist, *steil* to steal.
2. OE. *e* before *ht*, § 86: *feit* to fight, *reit* right.
3. Rarely OE. *æ* (*ea*), § 67: *eit* (O. North. *æhto*, *æhta*) eight.
4. WS. *ǣ*, O. North. *ē* before *a* following *k*, § 132: *leitš* leech, *speitš* speech.
5. OE. *ǣ* (i-umlaut of *a*) before *a* following *k*, § 138: *bleitš* to bleach, *reik* to reach.
6. Rarely OE. *ǣ* in other cases, § 139: *lein* to lean, *spreid* to spread, *kei* key.
7. Rarely OE. *ēa*, § 182: *ei* high, *nei* nigh, near.

oi.

§ 44. Windhill **oi** corresponds to:

1. OE. **o** in originally open syllables, § 109: **foil** *foal*, **koil** *coal*, **oil** *hole*, **poil** *to give ungrudgingly*, **proit** *throat*.
2. Lit. Engl. **oi** in French words, § 216: **boil** *to boil*, **oil** *oil*.
3. Lit. Engl. **ou** in French words, § 219: **doit** *to dote*, **toist** *to toast*.

ui.

§ 45. Windhill **ui** corresponds to:

1. OE. **ō**, § 163: **bluid** *blood*, **duin** *done*, **uin** (ME. *hōnen*) *to treat badly*, *harass*, **tuip** *tooth*.
2. Lit. Engl. **uw** in French words, § 221: **buit** *boot*, **fuil** *fool*, **gruin** *a pig's snout*.

eu.

§ 46. Windhill **eu** corresponds to:

1. OE. **e**, **eo**, + **w**, § 85: **eu** *eve*, **streu** *to strew*.
2. OE. **ēaw**, § 180: **deu** *dew*, **feu** *few*, **teu** (OE. *tēawian*) *to work zealously*.
3. Rarely OE. **ēow**, § 190: **seu** *to sew*, **tšeu** *to chew*.

iu.

§ 47. Windhill **iu** corresponds to:

1. OE. **iw**, § 96: **tliu** (OE. *cliwe*) *a ball of string or worsted*.
2. Rarely OE. **u**, § 116: **priu** *through*.
3. OE. **iw**, § 159: **spiu** *to vomit*, **tiuzde** *Tuesday*.
4. OE. **ō** before a following **k**, **m**, and when final, § 164: **iuk** *hook*, **tiuk** *took*.

gium *gum*, **lium** *loom*.

diu *to do*, **iniu** (pl.) *enough*.

5. OE. **ēow**, § 190: **bliu** *blew*, **briu** *to brew*, **niu** *knew*.

6. Lit. Engl. **juw** in French words, § 237: **fiute(r)** *future*, **ius** *use*, **iuz** *to use*, **viu** *view*.

7. Lit. Engl. **uw** in French words, § 239: **bliu** *blue*, **friut** *fruit*, **riubub** *rhubarb*, **siu** *to sue*.

ou.

§ 48. Windhill **ou** corresponds to:

1. OE. **al** before a following **d**, § 64: **koud** *cold*, **oud** *old*.

2. OE. **o** before **ht**, § 101: **bout** *bought*, **doute(r)** *daughter*.

3. OE. **o**, older **ō**, before **ht**, § 167: **brout** *brought*, **pout** *thought*.

4. ME. **ow** (OE. **-og-**), § 102: **floun** *flown*.

5. OE. **ol** before a following consonant, § 103: **boustē(r)** *bolster*, **kouk** *coke*, **out** *holt*.

6. OE. **ōw**, § 166: **flou** *to flow*, **grou** *to grow*.

7. O. Norse **au**, § 184: **loup** *to leap*, *jump*.

8. Rarely OE. **āw**, § 123: **out** *aught*, **soul** *soul*.

9. Rarely OE. **æ** before a following **ht**, § 140: **tout** *taught*.

10. Lit. Engl. **ou** in French words, § 220: **boul** *bowl*, **poutš** *to poach*.

11. **al** before **d** in French words, § 199: **skoud** *to scald*.

eə.

§ 49. Windhill **eə** corresponds to:

1. OE. **a** in originally open syllables, § 70: **beəd** *to bathe*, **eeg** (OE. **haga**) *the berry of the hawthorn*, **neeg** (OE. **gnagan**) *to gnaw*, **reəðe(r)** *rather*, **speen** (OE. **spanan**) *to wean*, **teem** *tame*.

2. ME. *ai, ei* from OE. *æg*, § 65: *deē day, eel hail, sneel snail*.

3. ME. *ei* from OE. *eg*, O. Norse *ei*, § 84: *breed* (OE. *bregdan*) *to resemble*, *reen rain*, *been* (O. Icel. *beinn*) *near, direct*.

4. Rarely WS. *æ*, O. North. *ē*, § 133: *bleet to bleat, eē(r) hair*.

5. Rarely OE. *æ* (i-umlaut of *ā*), § 141: *leedi lady, tlee clay*.

6. O. Norse *ei*, § 127: *leek to play, week weak*.

7. Lit. Engl. *ei* in French words, § 204: *beekn bacon, eenšn ancient, plees place*.

8. O. Fr. *ar* before a following consonant, § 203: *geed guard, kweet quart, tseedž to charge*.

9. Lit. Engl. *ā* in French words, § 195: *meeste(r) master, pleeste(r) plaster*.

ie.

§ 50. Windhill *ie* corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. *ea, æ, a*, § 68: *bied beard, ierīn herring*.

2. OE. *e* before *r* not followed by another consonant, § 75: *bie(r) to bear, swie(r) to swear*.

3. Rarely OE. *er* before a following consonant, § 74: *ieþ earth, lien to learn*.

4. Rarely OE. *e* in other cases, § 82: *friet to fret, rieþ to reap*.

5. Rarely OE. *i*, § 98: *flie(r)* (Norw. *flira*) *to laugh or sneer at*.

6. WS. *æ*, O. North. *ē*, § 131: *dried to dread, miel meal, repast, wīe(r) where*.

7. OE. *æ* (i-umlaut of *ā*), § 137: *diel deal. iel to heal, sie sea, tlien clean*.

8. OE. *ēa*, § 179: *bried bread*, *striē straw*, *þriēþ* (OE. *þrēapian*) *to contradict*.

9. OE. *ēo* before a following *r*, § 188: *bie(r) beer*, *die(r) dear*.

10. Lit. Engl. *ij* in French words, § 231: *biek beak*, *fiētē(r) feature*, *viel veal*.

11. Lit. Engl. *iē* in French words, § 233: *fies fierce*, *tlie(r) clear*.

oə.

§ 51. Windhill *oə* corresponds to :

1. OE. *eal*, *al* in the combinations *lf*, OE. *lh*, *lk*, *ll*, *lm*, *lv*, § 62: *koef calf*, *woef* (OE. *walh*) *sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste*, *boek balk, beam*, *boeld* (ME. *balled*) *bald*, *poem palm*, *soev salve*.

2. ME. *aw* (of various origins), § 63: *moek* (ME. *mauk*) *maggot*, *soe he saw*, *kroel to crawl*.

3. OE. *or* before a following consonant, § 104: *boen born*, *oes horse*, *poen thorn*.

4. OE. *āw*, § 123: *bloē to blow*, *noē to know*, *snoē snow*.

5. O. Norse *au*, § 184: *goēm heed, care*, *roet to bray*.

6. O. Fr. *al* before *k*, *m*, *l*, § 198: *goeki lefthanded*, *boem balm*, *boel ball*.

7. Lit. Engl. long open *o* in French words, § 225: *doeb to daub*, *smeer, dżoenes jaundice*, *poez to kick*, *foetn fortune*, *oēðe(r) to order*.

uə.

§ 52. Windhill *uə* corresponds to :

1. Rarely OE. *o*, § 105: *uēþ hope*, *nuez nose*, *fluet to float*.

2. Rarely OE. *o* before a following *r* or *r*+consonant, § 104 (2): *smue(r) to smother*, *bued board*, *ued hoard*.

3. Rarely OE. *u* before a following *r* or *r* + consonant, § 113, (3): *muen* to *mourn*.

4. OE. *eol*, § 83: *juæk* *yolk*.

5. OE. *a* before *mb*, § 66: *kuem* *comb*, *wuem* *womb*.

6. OE. *ā*, § 122: *buen* *bone*, *duēf* *dough*, *nuen* *none*, *sneþ* *soap*, *tlueþ* *cloth*, *uem* *home*, *ues*, *uest* (OE. *hās*) *hoarse*.

7. OE. *ō* before a following *r*, § 165: *dlue(r)* (ME. *glōren*) to *stare*, *muē(r)* *moor*.

8. Lit. Engl. long open *o* in French words, § 223: *kuēd* *cord*, *fues* *force*.

9. Lit. Engl. *ou* in French words, § 218: *nuetis* *notice*, *tluek* *cloak*.

10. Lit. Engl. *ue* before a following *r* in French words, § 222: *pue(r)* *poor*.

āə.

§ 53. Windhill *āə* corresponds to:

1. OE. *a*, *ea* before a following *r*, § 61: *dāe(r)* *dare*, *ae(r)* (accented form) *are*.

2. OE. *e*, *eo* before a following *r*, § 74: *wāe(r)* *worse*, *stāe(r)* *star*.

3. OE. *ū* before a following *r*, § 172: *kāe(r)* *dān* to *bend* down, *sāe(r)* *sour*.

4. Lit. Engl. *auə* before a following *r* in French words, § 236: *āe(r)* *hour*, *tāe(r)* *tower*.

4. The Triphthongs.

aiə.

§ 54. Windhill *aiə* corresponds to:

1. OE. *ī* before a following *r*, § 157: *aien* *iron*, *spaiə(r)* *spire*.

2. OE. *ȳ* (i-umlaut of *ū*) before a following *r*, § 176: *faie(r)* *fire*, *aiə(r)* to *hire*.

3. Lit. Engl. **aiə** in French words, § 230: **raiet** *riot*, **umpaie(r)** *umpire*.

iuə.

§ 55. Windhill **iuə** corresponds to:

1. Lit. Engl. **uə** before a following **r** in French words, § 240: **siuə(r)** *sure*.

2. Lit. Engl. **juə** before a following **r** in French words, § 238: **kiuə(r)** *cure*, **piuə(r)** *pure*.

ouə.

§ 56. Windhill **ouə** corresponds to:

Rarely OE. **ēow** before a following **r**, § 190: **foue(r)** *four*.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

The Vowels of Accented Syllables.

In treating the vowels in accented syllables it is necessary to distinguish between vowels which were originally in closed syllables, e. g. OE. *dæg day, helpan to help*; and those which were originally in open syllables, e. g. OE. *dagas days, etan to eat*. In the former case OE. *æ* (*a*), *o*, *e*, usually appear in the W. dialect as *a*, *o*, *e*, whereas in the latter case they have generally become *ee*, *oi*, *ei*. When through inflexional endings the vowels *æ* (*a*), *o*, *e* were in OE. now in a closed syllable, now in an open one, the W. dial. has mostly generalised the vowel of the open syllable.

1. The Short Vowels.

a.

§ 57. West Germanic *a* (= West Saxon *æ* (*a*), and *o* before nasals) in originally closed syllables usually appears as *a* in the W. dialect.

Examples are: *adl* (ME. *adlen*, O. Icel. *öðla*) *to earn*, *afte(r)* *after*, *akoen* *acorn*, *aks* *axe*, *am* (Sievers, OE. Gr.

§ 427) *am*, **am** *ham*, **ame(r)** *hammer*, **and** *hand*, **anl** *handle*, **anse(r)** *answer*, **antm** *anthem*, **anvil** *anvil*, **ap** (ME. *happen*) *to wrap with clothes*, **apl** *apple*, **are** *arrow*, **as** *ashes*, **as-***midin ash-pit*, **at** *hat*, **ave(r)-meil** (cp. ME. *havere* *oats*) *oat-meal*, pret. **bad** (§ 373) *invited*, **bak** *back*, pret. **ban** *bound*, **band** *string*, **cord**, **bare** *barrow*, **bas** *door mat*, **hassock**, **bap** *bath*, **be-gan** *began*, **blak** *black*, **brak** *broke*, **brakn** (OE. *bracce*, gen. *braccan*) *a kind of fern*, **bran** (OE. *brand*) *niu quite new*, **bras** *brass*, pret. **brast** *burst*, **brat** (O. Ir., OE. *bratt*) *pinafore*, **braznt** *brazen*, *impudent*, **daft** *foolish*, *silly*, *cowardly*, **dam** (O. Icel. *damr*) *large pond*, **dlad** *glad*, **dlas** *glass*, **dlazn** *to glaze*, **dlazne(r)** *glazier*, **draft** *draught*, *draft*, **fadm** (ME. *fadme*) *fathom*, **fale** *fallow*, pret. **fan** *found*, **fan** *fun*, **fasn** *to fasten*, *conclude a bargain by paying earnest money*, **flaks** *flax*, **flask** *flask*, **flat** *flat*, **gab** (cp. O. Icel. *gabba*) *impudence*, **gad** (cp. OE. *ge-gada* *companion*) *to gossip*, **gales** *gallows*, **gam** (OE. *gamnian*) *game*, *to gamble*, **gane(r)** *gander*, pret. **gat** *got*, pret. **ga(v)** *gave*, **jare** *yarrow*, **kaf** *chaff*, **kal** *to gossip*, **kan** *a can*, **kan** (unaccented form **kn** more frequently with assimilation **kn**) *can*, **kani** *knowing*, *intelligent*, *skilful*, *nimble*, **kanl** *candle*, **kap** *a cap*, **kasl** *castle*, **kat** *cat*, **krab** *crab*, **krabd** (ME. *crabed*) *angry*, **krabi** *ill-tempered*, **kraft** *craft*, **krak** *to crack*, **kram** *to cram*, *press close together*, **kramp** *cramp*, **lad** (ME. *ladde*) *lad*, **laf** (with **a** from the *pp.*) *to laugh*, **laftø(r)** *laughter*, **lam** *lamb*, **land** *land*, **lap** *lap*, **lappet**, **lap** (ME. *lappen*) *to wrap up*, **las** (ME. *lasse*) *lass*, **last** *last*, *latest*, **lat** *late*, **lat** (OE. *lætt*) *lath*, **late(r)** *latter*, *later*, **man** *man*, **mare** *marrow*, **náp** *nap*, **nare** *narrow*, **nat** *gnat*, **pak** (ME. *pakke*) *a pack*, *bundle*, **pan** *pan*, **pap** *path*, **pratli** *gently*, *softly*, **rafte(r)** *rafter*, **ram** *ram*, **rami** (cp. OE. *hramsa* *wild garlic*) *having a strong taste or smell*, **raml** *to ramble*, **ran** *ran*, **sad** *sad*, **saklōs** (OE. *saclēas* *innocent*) *simple*, *silly*, **sam** *up* (OE. *samnian*)

to pick up, gather together, **sal** (emphatic form, see § 391) shall, **sale** *sallow*, **sand** *sand*, **sap** *sap*, pret. **sat** *sat*, **satl** (OE. *sahtlian* to make peace, reconcile) to settle, **skaftin** *shafting*, **skab** *scab*, **skraml** *scramble*, **skrat** (ME. *scrattin*) to scratch, **slafte(r)** to slaughter, **slak** *slack*, **slave(r)** *slaver*, **spak** (§ 372) *spake*, *spoke*, **span** to span, pret. **span** *span*, **spare** *sparrow*, **staf** *staff*, pret. **stak** *stuck*, **stamp** to stamp, **stand** to stand, **šade** *shadow*, **šaft** *shaft*, **šale** *shallow*, **šap** *shape*, **tale** *tallow*, **tan** to tan, **tap** *tap*, **tate(r)** *tatter*, **tiam** (see N.E.D. sub *clem*) to famish, **tlap** *clap*, **tlate(r)** to clatter, **trap** *trap*, **tšavl** to nibble at, *gnaw*, *chew*, **pak** *thatch*, **čat** (see § 354) *that*, pret. **prast** (§ 367, 4) *thrust*.

§ 58. **a** preceded by **w** and not followed by **r** + consonant (§ 61), **g**, **n**, **š** (§ 59), has become **o**. It has also become **o** when followed by **ls**, **lt** :

swole *swallow*, **swom** *swam*, **swon** *swan*, **swop** to exchange, *barter*, **wokn** to waken, **woks** *wax*, **wonde(r)** to wander, **wont** *want*, **wo(r)** (emphatic from § 396) *was*, **wot** *what*, **wote(r)** *water*, **wotš** *watch*.

fols *false*, **molt** *malt*, **olt** *halt*, **solt** *salt*.

a has also become **o** in **omest** *almost*, **oles** *always*, **moni** *many*.

§ 59. **a**, followed by **g**, **n**, **š**, has become **e** :

ber (cp. O.Icel. *banga* to hammer) to throw violently, **benk** *bank*, pret. **bren** *brought*, pret. **den** (§ 367) *reviled*, *reproached*, **drenk** *drank*, pret. **en** (§ 367) *hung*, **en** to hang, **enk** *hank*, **enkl** *angle*, **enke(r)** *anchor*, **emen** *among*, pret. **fien** (§ 367) *threw*, **gen** *gang*, **gen-wee** *thoroughfare*, *passage*, **kenke(r)** (ME. *cancren*) to become rusty, **krenk** *crank*, **len** to long for, **len-setl** *a long bench with a high back*, **len** (this form is gradually going out of use. The younger

people say *lon*) *long*, *nen* to *gnaw* as a *pain*, *nen-neel* (see N.E.D. sub *agnail*) *corn on the foot*, *prenk* *prank*, *trick*, pret. *ren* (§ 367) *rang*, *ren* *wrong*, *renk* *rank*, *renl* (ME. *wranglen*) to *pull the hair of the head*, pret. *sen* *sang*, *sen* (this form is now seldom heard among the younger people. Its place is gradually being supplanted by *son*) *song*, *senk* *sank*, pret. *slen* *slung*, pret. *slenk* *slunk*, *spenk* to *beat*, *hit*, *spreu* *sprang*, pret. *stenk* *stunk*, pret. *sten* *stung*, *stren* (archaic, *stron* is now generally used) *strong*, pret. *swen* *swung*, *swenki* *small beer*, *šenk* *shank*, pret. *šrenk* *shrunk*, *ten* (cp. ME. *tange*, O.Icel. *tangi* *sting*, *dagger*) a *sting*, to *sting*, *tenz* *tongs*, pret. *tlen* *clung*, *tlenk* to *beat*, *flog*, *preu* *busy*, *penk* to *thank*, *wen* *thong*. *mune(r)* *monger* is a loan-word.

beg *bag*, *bleg* *blackberry*, *breg* to *brag*, *deg* (cp. Swed. *dagga* to *bedew*) to *sprinkle with water*, *dreg* to *drag*, *fleg* *flag*, *geg* (ME. *gaggin*) to *gag*, *reg* *rag*, *seg* (ME. *saggin* to *sink down*) to *distend*, *stego(r)* to *stagger*, *šeg* *shag*, *tleg* (Lowland Scot. *clag*) to *stick to*, as *thick mud to the boots*, *tlegi* *sticky*, *dirty (of roads)*, *stopped up with dirt*, *weg* to *wag*, *wegn* *wagon*.

eš *ash-tree*, *leš* (ME. *laschin*) to *comb*, *meš* (cp. § 125) *mash*, *peš* (ME. *paschen*) to *dash*, *strike hard*, *pleš* (Swed. *plaska*) to *splash*, *reš* *rash*, *smeš* *smash*, *weš* to *wash*.

§ 60. In the following words we have *e* which in many of the examples is no doubt the i-umlaut of *a*: *besk* to *bask*, *elte(r)* (Prompt. Parv. *heltir*, Town. Myst. *heltre*, Stratmann) *halter*, *esked* (cp. ME. *aske* *lizard*) *newt*, *eft*, *espin* *aspin*, *etš* (ME. *hacchen*) to *hatch*, *fest* *fast*, *geđe(r)*, to *gather*, *te-geđe(r)* *together*, *kest* (ME. *kesten*) to *cast*, *kredl* *cradle*, *swetš* (OE. *swæcc* *taste*) a *small sample of cloth*, *cotton*, etc., *weđe(r)* *whether*, *wesp* *wasp*, *ev* *have*, *ez* *hast*, *has*, *ed* *had*.

§ 61. *a* + medial *r* has become *ā* before consonants :
ād *hard*, *ād**n* *to harden*, *ām* *harm*, *ām* *arm*, *āp* *harp*, *āt*
thou art, *āvis(t)* *harvest*, *bāk* *bark*, *bāli* *barley*, *bān* *child*,
dān *to darn*, *fān* *fern*, *jād* (OE. *geard*) *yard*, *jān* *yarn*, *kāt*
cart, *māk* *mark*, *pāk* *park*, *spāk* *spark*, *stāk* (always used
in combination with some other word, as *stāk* *mad* *very*
angry, *stāk* *neekt* *quite naked*, cp. OE. *stearc* *strong, severe*),
*stāk**ƿ* (OE. *stearcian*) *to grow stiff, stiffen*, *swām* *swarm*,
swāp (OE. *sweard*) *the skin of bacon*, *swāpi* *swarthy*, *šāp*
sharp, *tād**z* *towards*, *wād* *ward*, *wāf* *wharf*, *wāk* (OE. *wærc*)
pain, as verb *to ache*, *wām* *warm*, *wān* *to warn*, *wāp* *warp*,
wāt *wart*.

But it has become *āe* before medial and final *r* in : *āe(r)*
are, *dāe(r)* *dare*.

§ 62. *eal*, *al* has become *oe* in the combinations *lf*,
OE. *lh*, *lk*, *ll*, (1), *lm*, *lv* :

lf : *koef* *calf*, *koef* *calf* (*of the leg*), *oef* *half*, *oepni* *half-*
penny, *oepēp* *halfpennyworth*.

lh : *woef*, *woefi* (OE. *walh* *sickly taste*) *sickly to the smell*,
insipid to the taste.

lk : *boek* (OE. *balca*) *bulk, beam*, *stoek* *stalk, stem*, *toek*
to talk, *woek* *to walk*, *tſoek* *chalk*.

ll, (1) : *boeld* (ME. *balled*) *bald*, *foel* *to fall*, *foel* *a veil*,
goel *gall*, *koel* (cp. *kal* § 57) *to call*, *oel* *all*, *oel* *hall*, *smoel*
small, *stoel* *stall*, *woel* *wall*.

lm : *poem* *palm*. *lv* : *soev* *salve*.

§ 63. ME. *aw* (of various origins) has become *oe* :
doen *dawn*, *droe* *to draw*, *krœl* *crawl*, *loē* *law*, *moek*
(ME. *mauk* Stratmann) *maggot*, *oek* *hawk*, *oel* *awl*, pret.
soē *saw*, *tloē* *claw*.

§ 64. *al* has become *ou* before a following *d* :
boud *bold*, *foud* *fold*, *foud* *to fold*, *koud* *cold*, *oud* *old*.

The regularly developed form *oud to hold* is now only used in the phrase *oud on stop!* The usual form *od to hold*, is a new formation from the past participle *odn*, where the stem vowel has been regularly shortened before the following *n*.

§ 65. ME. *ai*, *ei* from OE. *æg* has become *ee*:

breen brain, *dee day*, *deezi daisy*, *eel* (OE. *hægl*) *hail*, *feen* (OE. *fægen*) *glad*, *fain*, *gladly*, *fee(r)* *fair*, *mee* (shortened in *mebi perhaps, possibly*) *may*, *meen main*, *neel nail*, *peel pail*, *slee* (a new formation from the past participle) *to slay*; *sleen slain*, *sneel snail*, *teel tail*.

§ 66. *a* became lengthened to *ā* before *mb* already in early ME., as is shown by the forms in the Ormulum. This *ā* fell together with OE. *ā*=Germanic *ai*, and has accordingly become *uə* (see § 122) in the Windhill dialect: *kuem comb*, *wuem womb*. *lam lamb* is a new formation from the plural, where the short vowel was regularly retained, cp. Ormulum acc. sing. *lamb* (i. 274) beside acc. plural *lambbre* (ii. 109). The word-lists in vol. v of Ellis' Early English Pronunciation show that all English dialects have a short vowel in this word.

§ 67. *a* has become *ei* in *eit eight*, *eit'* (with suspended *t*) *eighth*. In *meits to measure* the *ei* seems to point to an OE. *æ* (cp. §§ 132, 138).

§ 68. *a* has become *ie* in *bied beard*, *gie(r) gear*, *ierin herring*.

§ 69. *æ* (*a*) has become *ē* in *gēs* (OE. *gærs*, ME. *gers*) *grass*; and *oi* in *loin* (OE. *lane*, *lone*) *lane*, which has had the same development as old *o* in open syllables. See § 109.

§ 70. Short *a* in originally open syllables has usually become *ee*. But see § 71.

Examples are: *beed to bathe*, *beek to bake*, but *bak-stn* (lit.

bake-stone) the iron plate on which oat cakes are baked, *bee(r)* bare, pret. *bee(r)* bore, *bleed* blade, *bleez* to blaze, *deel* dale, *dlee(r)* (ME. *glarin*) to stare hard, *dreæg* (OE. *dragan*) to drawl, *dreek* drake, *eeg* (OE. *haga*) the berry of the hawthorn (the tree is called *tšiz en bried trī* lit. *cheese and bread tree*), *eekē(r)* acre, *eel* ale, *ee(r)* hare, *eet* to hate, *be-eēv* to behave, *fee(r)* to fare, *fleek* flake, *freem* (OE. *framian*) to make a start or beginning, *nītin-geel* nightingale, *geep* to gape, *e-geet* in action, at work, *geet* gate, *greēv* grave, *greez* to graze, *keek* bread of every kind, *keē(r)* care, *kreēv* to crave, *leedl* ladle, *leem* lame, *leeð* (O.Icel. *hlaða*) barn, *meed* made, *meeg* (OE. *maga*) maw, *meen* mane, *nīt-mee(r)* nightmare, *meet* (M. Low Germ. *mate*) mate, *neeg* (OE. *gnagan*) to gnaw, *neekt* naked, *neem* name, *preet* (cp. Swed. *prata*) to prate, babble, *reek* rake, *reeðē(r)* rather, *seeg* (OE. *sage*) a saw, *seek* sake, *seel* sale, *seem* same, *skeelz* scales, *skreep* to scrape, *sneek* snake, *snee(r)* snare, *speed* spade, *speen* (OE. *spanan*) to wean, *spee(r)* to spare, *steek* stake, *steel* (pret.) stole, *steē(r)* to stare, *steēvz* staves, *sweep* the handle of a machine, *šeed* shade, *šeem* shame, *šee(r)* share, *šeev* to shave, *teel* tale, *teem* tame, *teen* taken, *weed* to wade, *weel* whale, *ween* to wane, *wee(r)* (ME. *waren*) to spend or lay out money, *weev* wave, *weeve(r)* to waver.

§ 71. *æ* (*a*) appears as *a* in: *gavlēk* (OE. *gafoluc* spear) crowbar, *mak* to make, *ransak* (O.Icel. *rannsaka* to search a house) to ransack, *tak* (O.Icel. *taka*) to take, *šak* to shake, *šakl* shackle, *sadl* saddle, *stapl* staple, *faðē(r)* father, *laðē(r)* foam, froth. On the stem-vowel in the last five words cp. the similar double development in German in such words as *Schemel*, *Vater*, *nehmen*, beside *Semmel*, *Vetter*, *kommen*. See Paul-Braune's *Beiträge*, vol. ix. pp. 101-135.

e.

§ 72. West Germanic *e* and the OE. *e* which arose from the *i*-umlaut of *a(o)* have fallen together in the W. dialect as also in all other Mod. Engl. dialects, at least so far as can be ascertained from the word-lists in Ellis' EEP. vol. v.

§ 73. *e* (= old *e* and the *i*-umlaut of *a(o)*) in originally closed syllables usually appears as *e* in the W. dialect; and also when *e* was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*.

1. Old *e*:

beg (OE. *bedecian*) *to beg*, *bele* *to bellow*, *bel* *bell*, *delf* *a stone quarry*, *delv* *to delve*, *elde(r)-trī* *elder*, *elm* *elm*, *elp* *help*, *etn* *eaten*, *enent* *anent*, *opposite*, *evm* *heaven*, *felt* *felt*, *feðe(r)* *feather*, *freš* *fresh*, *getn* (pp.) *got*, *jel* *yell*, *jelp* *yelp*, *kres* *cress*, *leðe(r)* *leather*, *melt* *to melt*, *nest* *nest*, *nevi* (OE. *nefa*, gen. *nefan*) *nephew*, *rekn* *to reckon*, *sel(sen)* *self*, *seldn* (OE. *seldon*) *seldom*, *sevm* *seven*, *skelp* (ME. *skelpen*) *to beat*, *flog*, *skep* (O. Icel. *skeppa*) *a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, etc.*, *smel* *to smell*, *smelt* *to smelt*, *spek* *speck*, *swel* *to swell*, *swelt* (OE. *sweltan*) *to faint*, *be* *overpowered by heat*, *twenti* *twenty*, *preš* *to thresh*, *prešld* *threshold*, *weft* *weft*, *west* *west*, *weðe(r)* (OE. *weder*) *weather*, *weðe(r)* (OE. *wēðer*) *the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before*.

2. *i*-umlaut of *a(o)*:

bed *bed*, *bef* (Germ. *bäffen* *to bark*) *to cough*, *bek* (O. Icel. *bekkr*) *beck*, *beli* *belly*, *belesez* *bellows*, *belt* *belt*, *bend* *to bend*, *benk* *bench*, *best* *best*, *bete(r)* *better*, *blend* *to blend*, *dregz* *dregs*, *drenš* *to drench*, *eb* *ebb*, *edž* *edge*, *edž* *hedge*, *eft* (O. Icel. *hepti*) *haft*, *eg* (O. Icel. *eggia*) *to urge*, *incite*,

eg (O. Icel. egg) *egg*, el *hell*, els *else*, em *hem*, en *hen*, end *end*, esp (O. Icel. hespa) *hasp*, evi *heavy*, fel *to fell*, kemp (ME. kempe) *short coarse white hairs in wool*, ketl *kettle*, leg (O. Icel. leggr) *leg*, lenþ (by assimilation) *length*, men *men*, mens (OE. mennisc *dignity, honour*) *neatness*, neb *bill*, beak, nek *neck*, net *net*, netl *nettle*, pen *pen*, peni *penny*, rest *rest*, retš *wretch*, seg *sedge*, sek (O. Icel. sekkr) *sack*, sel *to sell*, send *to send*, sent *sent*, set *to set*, slek *small coal*, slek (OE. ge-sleccan) *to extinguish a fire*, etc. *with water*, snek (ME. snekke) *the latch of a door*, spend *to spend*, stem *stem*, step *step*, strenþ (by assimilation) *strength*, stretš *to stretch*, šel *shell*, šelf *shelf*, tel *to tell*, temz (cp. OE. temsian *to strain, pass through a sieve*) *a coarse hair sieve*, tletš (cp. O. Icel. klekia *to hatch, bring forth*) *brood of chickens*, twelft *twelfth*, twelv *twelve*, web *web*, wed (OE. weddian) *to wed, marry*, wedž *wedge*, wel (noun) *well*, welp *whelp*, ouē(r)-welt (O. Icel. velta) *to turn over, upset*, went *went*, wet-stn *whet-stone*.

§ 74. *er* in the combination *er* + consonant has partly become *ā* and partly *ie*. The reasons for this twofold development are not clear. It is probable that the words belonging to the latter category have been influenced by the literary language :

āt *heart*, bāk *to bark*, bākm (OE. beorg + ham N.E.D. sub bargham) *collar of a horse*, bām *barm*, bān (OE. bern) *barn*, dāk *dark*, dwāf *dwarf*, fāt (ME. ferten) *pedere*, kāv *to carve*, smāt *smart*, stāv *to starve*, wāk (noun) *work*, wāte (lit. work-day) *week-day*.

Before final *r* we have *āe* : fāē(r) (OE. feorr) *far*, stāē(r) (OE. steorra) *star*, wāē(r) (O. Icel. verre) *worse*.

ienist *earnest*, iēp *earth*, jied (3 feet) *yard*, jien *yearn*, lien *learn*.

The following words seem to have been borrowed from the literary language : *bōn* to *burn*, *gēn* (with metathesis) to *grin*, *wēp* *worth*, *sued* (older *swēd*) *sword*.

§ 75. *e* has become *ie* before *r* not followed by another consonant : *bie(r)* to *bear*, *pie(r)* *pear*, *smie(r)* to *smear*, *spie(r)* *spear*, *swie(r)* to *swear*, *wie(r)* to *wear*, *šie(r)* to *shear*. The only exceptions are : *tāe(r)* *tar*, *mee(r)* *mare*.

§ 76. *e* (i-umlaut of *a*) has become *i* before original *ɾ* (now *ɾ* or *nž*) : *in* (ME. *hengen*, O. Icel. *hengia*) to *hang*, *inž* *hinge*, *inld* *England*, *inliš* *English*, *din* *up* (O. Icel. *dengia* to *beat*, *strike*) to *reproach*, *flin* (ME. *flingen*) to *fling*, *throw*, *krinž* to *cringe*, *linē(r)* to *linger*, *minl* to *mingle*, *sinž* to *singe*, *slin* to *sling*, *strin* *string*, *pink* to *think*, *win* *wing*.

§ 77. *e* has become *i* in : *giv*, *gi* to *give*, *kil* to *kill*, *milk* *milk*, *rid* *rid*, *siks* *six*, *sikst* *sixth*, *silve(r)* *silver*, *sistē(r)* (probably from O. Icel. *syster*) *sister*, *sitš* *such*, *šil* (ME. *schellen*, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has *schillin*, Stratmann) to *shell* *peas*, etc., *wile* *willow*, *witš* *which*.

§ 78. *e* has become *ī* before *ld* : *fīld* *field*, *jīld* to *yield*, *šīld* *shield*, *wīld* to *wield*.

§ 79. The following words also have *ī* : *bīzm* *besom*, *dī* (ME., Ormulum *deȝen*) to *die*, *wīl* (adv.) *well*, but see § 399, *wīzl* *weazel*, and *gīn* *given*.

§ 80. *e* has become *o* in : *fotš* (OE. *feccan*, Town. Myst. *fetche*, *foche*, inf. *fott*, Sweet, HES. p. 315) to *fetch*, *jolē* *yellow*, *jon* *yon*, *swolē* (OE. *swelgan*, ME., Ormulum *swollȝhen*) to *swallow*. We have *oe* in *joen* (OE. *geonian*, also *gānian*) to *yawn*.

§ 81. *e* has become *e* in : *beri* *berry*, (ə)*levm* *eleven*, *jēst* *yeast*, *jēstēde* *yesterday*, *jēt* *yet*.

§ 82. *e* has become *ie* in: *estied instead, friet to fret, bewail, mourn over, riep to reap*, but *cp. Sievers, OE. Gr. § 382, 3.*

§ 83. OE. *eol* has become *ue* in: *juæk yolk.*

§ 84. ME. *ei* from OE. *eg*, O. Icel. *ei* has become *ee*:
breed (OE. *bregdan*) *to resemble, act like another person*,
geen (OE. *gegn*) *near, direct, lee to lay, leed laid, leen*
lain, reen rain, see to say, seel sail, wee way, ewee away.
been (O. Icel. *beinn*) *near, direct, beet bait, nee nay,*
steek steak, ðee (accented form) they, ðee(r) (accented form)
their.

e has also become *ee* in *feœvr(r) fever.*

§ 85. *e(eo) + w* has become *eu*: *eu ewe, streu to strew.*

§ 86. The combination *eht* has become *eit*: *feit to fight, reit right, streit straight.*

§ 87. Short *e* in open syllables has generally become *ei*:

beid bead, breits (O. Fris. *breke*) *a breach, eit to eat,*
bried-fleik (O. Icel. *fleki* *hurdle*) *a hurdle on which oat-*
cakes are dried, meil meal-flower, meit meat, neid to knead,
neiv (O. Icel. *knefi*) *fist, pei* (ME. *pese*) *pea, speik to speak,*
bed-steid bedstead, steil to steal, steil (OE. *stel*) *the handle*
of a pot or jug, steim (OE. *ge-stefnian, a-stemnian* *to give*
voice for, appoint) *to bespeak, treid to tread, wei* (OE. *wegan*)
to weigh, weik (ME. *weke*) *the wick of a lamp or candle,*
weiv to weave.

§ 88. Short *e* in open syllables has remained in: *brek*
to break, get (O. Icel. *geta*) *to get, lek* (O. Icel. *leka*) *to*
leak.

i.

§ 89. OE. *i* has generally remained:
bid to invite to a funeral, pp. bidn, big big, large, bil

bill, *bin* (OE. *binnan*) *within*, *bind* to *bind*, *bin* (ME. *bing*, O. Icel. *bingr*) *a bin*, *bit* *a bit*, *bite(r)* *bitter*, *bitn* *bitten*, *bitš* *bitch*, *biznes* *business*, *blind* *blind*, *blis* *bliss*, *brim* (ME. *brimmen*, cp. O. Icel. *brimi* *burning heat*) *to put the boar to the sow*, *brin* to *bring*, *dig* to *dig*, *dim* *dim*, *diš* *dish*, *diče(r)* (ME. *diderin*) *to tremble, shiver with cold*, *dlite(r)* *to glitter*, *drift* *drift*, *drink* to *drink*, *drivm* *driven*, *fidl* *fiddle*, *fikl* *fickle*, *film* *film*, *fin* *fin*, *find* to *find*, *fiŋe(r)* *finger*, *fiš* *fish*, *fit* *ready, prepared*, *flik* *flitch*, *flike(r)* to *flicker*, *flint* *flint*, *gidi* *giddy*, *gift* *gift*, *gilt* (OE. *gilte*, O. Icel. *gilta*) *a young female pig*, *be-gin* to *begin*, *grind* to *grind*, *grip* *grip*, *if* *if*, *ik* to *hitch*, *il* *ill*, *ilt* *hilt*, *im* *him*, *in*, *i* *in*, *inde(r)* (occ. *inče(r)*) *to hinder*, *bi-int* *behind*, *it* *it*, *it* to *hit*, *iče(r)* *hither*, *iz* *is*, *iz* *his*, *kid* *kid*, *kin-kof* *whooping-cough*, *kirk* (ME. *kinken* to *pant, gasp*) to *cough* (of whooping-cough), *kist* (O. Icel. *kista*) *chest, box*, *kit* (ME. *kitte*) *a pail*, *kitl* (ME. *kitelen*) to *tickle*, *krisp* *crisp*, *lid* *lid*, *lig* (OE. *liegan*) to *lie down*, *lik* to *lick*, *lim* *limb*, *lip* *lip*, *liv* to *live*, *live(r)* *liver*, *midl* *middle*, *miks* to *mix*, *mil-deu* *mildew*, *mint* *mint*, *mis* to *miss*, *mizl-tue* *mistletoe*, *mist* *mist*, *mitš* *much*, *nibl* to *nibble*, *niml* *nimble*, *nit* (OE. *hnitu*) *nit*, *pig* *pig*, *pigin* *a small water-can*, *pitš* *pitch*, *pip* *pith*, *prik* to *prick*, *prikl* *prickle*, *rib* *rib*, *ridl* (ME. *ridil* Prom. Parv. p. 433, Stratmann) *sieve*, *ridn* *ridden*, *rift* (ME. *riften*) to *belch, eructate*, *rim* *rim*, *rind* *rind*, *rin* *ring*, *rin* to *wring*, *rinkl* *wrinkle*, *rist* *wrist*, *rizn* *risen*, *ritn* *written*, *sift* to *sift*, *sikl* *sickle*, *grun-sil* *groundsel*, *silk* *silk*, *sin* *since*, *sinde(r)* *cinder*, *sin* to *sing*, *sink* to *sink*, *sit* to *sit*, *siv* *sieve*, *skift* to *shift*, *remove*, *skin* *skin*, *skil* *skill*, *slidn* (pp.) *slid*, *slink* to *slink*, *slip* to *slip*, *slipi* *slippery*, *slitn* (pp.) *slit*, *smitl* to *infect*, *smitn* *smitten*, *smip* *smith*, *smiči* *smithy*, *spil* to *spill*, *spin* to *spin*, *spinl* *spindle*, *spit* to *spit*, *spitek* *spigot*, *spring* to *spring*, *stik* *stick*, *stik* to *stick*, *stil* *still*, *stin* to *sting*, *stink*

to stink, stitš stitch, strik~~n~~ stricken, swift swift, swil (OE. swilian) to rinse, wash out, swilinz thin liquid food for pigs, swim to swim, swin to swing, šift chemise, šilin shilling, šin shin, šip ship, šrimp shrimp, šrink to shrink, tik tick, til to till, tin tin, tit, titi (OE. tit) breastmilk, tlim to climb, tlin to cling, tlip to clip, tšikin chicken, tšilde(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bān is always used) children, tšin chin, twig twig, twin twin, twinkl to twinkle, twist twist, pik thick, friendly, in love with, pin thing, pisl thistle, prift thrift, čis this, wi with, wide widow, widower, wik (O. Icel. vik stirring, moving) quick, alive, wik week, wil (accented form) will, win to win, wind wind, wind to wind, winde window, winte(r) winter, wink to wink, wispe(r) to whisper, wisl to whistle, wit wit, witl (ME. pwitel) large carving knife, witš witch, wizr (OE. wisnian to dry up) to wither.

§ 90. ir + consonant has become ē + consonant :

bēd bird, bēk birch, gēsl gristle, ēd herd, tšētš (but kē-geť kirkgate) church, pēd third, pēti thirty, wēl to whirl.

§ 91. i has become e in: gosep gossip, jes yes, sterək (OE. stirc, styric) heifer, e(r) her, tšerēp to chirp.

§ 92. i has been lengthened before ld: mīld mild, wīld wild. But tšilde(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bān is used) children, owing to the following suffix.

§ 93. ME. iht has become īt: brīt bright, līt light, levis, līts the lungs of animals, mīt (noun) might, nīt night, shortened in fotnit fortnight, plīt plight, sīt sight, slīt slight, tīt tight. weit (OE. gewihte) has been influenced by wei to weigh.

§ 94. Medial OE. ig has become ī in: stī sty, ladder, stīl (OE. stigel) stile, tīl tile.

§ 95. *i* has become *ai* in: *ai* (accented form, see § 350) *I*.

§ 96. *iw* has become *iu*: *tliu* (OE. *cliwe*) *a ball of string or worsted*.

§ 97. *i* has become *u* in: *kud* (OE. *cwidu*) *cud*, *ruš* *rush*, *tul* *to*.

§ 98. *i* has become *ie* in: *flie(r)* (Norw. *flira*) *to laugh or sneer at*, *striek* *streak*, *stripe*, *čiez* *these*.

§ 99. *i* has become *e* in: *lenit* (ME. *lynnet*, probably from Fr. *linotte*) *linnet*.

O.

§ 100. OE. *o* (= West Germanic *o*) in originally closed syllables has usually remained *o*; and also when *o* was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*:

blob (see N.E.D.) *a bubble*, *bulb*, *bodm* *bottom*, *boks* *box*, *bore* *to borrow*, *brokn* *broken*, *broþ* *broth*, *dof* *to undress*, *dog* *dog*, *dokn* (OE. *docce*) *a dock*, *dolt* *lump of dirt*, *don* *to dress*, *drop* *drop*, *džogl* (cp. ME. *joggen*) *to shake*, *flok* *flock*, *fog* (ME. *fogge*) *aftergrass*, *foks* *fox*, *fole* *to follow*, *fond* (ME. *fonned*, pp. of *fonnen* *be foolish*) *fond*, *fofn* (pp.) *fought*, *frog* *frog*, *frost* *frost*, *frop* *froth*, *frozn* *frozen*, *god* *god*, *gospl* *gospel*, *kob-web* *cob*, *kod* *cod*, *kof* *cough*, *kok* *cock*, *kokl* *cockle*, *kolep* (ME. *colop*, cp. O. Swed. *kollops*) *slice (of bacon)*, *kope(r)* *copper*, *kroft* (OE. *croft*) *a small field*, *krop* *crop*, *kros* *cross*, *loft* *loft*, *lok* *lock*, *loks* *small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece*, *lop* (OE. *lopp*) *flea*, *loped* (ME. *lopren* *coagulate*) *clotted*, *covered with dirt*, *lopste(r)* *lobster*, *lost* *lost*, *lot* *lot*, *mos* *moss*, *mop* *moth*, *nod* (ME. *nodden*) *nap*, *short sleep*, *nok*

to *knock*, *not* *knot*, *notš* *notch*, *od* *odd*, *ofi* *offal*, *oft* *oft*, *often*, *og* (ME. *hog*) *the first year's wool of a sheep*, *oks* *ox*, *ole* *hollow*, *olin* (OE. *holen*) *the holly-tree, twig of the holly-tree*, *on* (accented form) *on*, *op* *to hop*, *opm* *open*, *ote(r)* *otter*, *otšed* *orchard*, *ovl* *hovel*, *plot* *plot*, *poks* *pox*, *prod* *to prick*, *goad*, *rok* *rock*, *rot* *to rot*, *slop* (O. Icel. *sloppr*) *the leg of a pair of trousers*, *slot* (ME. *slot*) *bolt of a door*, *smok* *smock*, *snod* (O. Icel. *snoðinn* *smooth (of hair)*), *smooth*, *even*, *snodn* *to make smooth*, *snot* *snot*, *sod* *sod*, *sodnd* *saturated, wet through*, *sok* *sock*, *sore* *sorrow*, *spokn* *spoken*, *spot* *spot*, *stok* *stock*, *stop* *to stop*, *šop* *shop*, *šot* *shot*, *šotn* (pp.) *shot*, *tlog* *a shoe with wooden soles*, *tlok* *the common black beetle*, *tlok* *to cluck*, *tlot* *clot*, *tlovnm* *cloven*, *top* *top*, *topin* (ME. *topping*) *the front part of the hair of the head*, *topl* *to fall over*, *tot* *a small beer glass*, *trodn* *trodden*, *trof* *trough*, *tšozn* *chosen*, *prosl* (OE. *prostle*) *thrush*, *protl* (ME. *protlen*) *to press on the windpipe*, *wovnm* *woven*.

§ 101. *oht* has become *out*: *bout* *bought*, *doute(r)* *daughter*, *rout* *wrought*. We have however *o* in *fotn* (§ 100) *fought*.

§ 102. ME. *ow* (=OE. *og*) has become *ou*: *reen-bou* *rain-bow*, *floun* *flown*.

§ 103. *ol* + consonant has become *ou* + consonant: *boul* *bowl*, *boustə(r)* *bolster*, *bout* *bolt*, *fouk* *folk*, *goud* *gold*, *kouk* (see N.E.D. sub. *colk*) *coke, cinder*, *kout* *colt*, *out* *holt*, *moud-wāp* *a mole*, *stoun* *stolen*, *toul* *toll*.

But we have *o* in *wod* (accented form) *would*; and *u* in *sud* (accented form) *should*; and *oe* in *noep* (ME. *nolpen*) *to strike* *to beat, strike*.

§ 104. The development of *o* before a following *r*:

(1) *oe*: *boen* *born*, *foek* *fork*, *koen* *corn*, *te-moen* *to-*

morrow, *moen*, *moenin* *morning*, *noep* *north*, *oen* *horn*, *oes* *horse*, *stoem* *storm*, *swoen* *sworn*, *šoen* *shorn*, *šoet* *short*, *toen* *torn*, *poen* *thorn*.

(2) *ue*: *e-fue(r)* *before*, *smue(r)* (OE. *smorian*) *to smother*, *suffocate*.

bued *board*, *e-fued* *afford*, *ued* *hoard*.

(3) *ē*: *spē(r)* *spur*, *wēd* *word*, *wēld* *world*.

§ 105. *o* has become *ue* in: *buekn* (ME. *bolkin*) *to belch*, *ruet* *float*, *kuēv* *cove*, *juek* *yoke*, *uep* *hope*, *nuez* *nose*, *puek* (OE. *poca*) *sack*, *pueni* *pony*, *puest* (OE. *post* from Lat. *postis*) *post*, *ruez* *a rose*, *stuēv* *stove*, *suek* *to soak*, *suep* (OE. *sopa* *sup*, *small quantity (of water)*) *a little tea* or *beer*, etc., *tšuek* *to choke*.

NOTE.—Most, if not all, of the above words are early borrowings from the literary language.

§ 106. *o* has become *ū* in: *smūk* *to smoke*, *šūl* *shovel*, *stūp* (ME. *stolpe*) *a post*.

§ 107. *o* has become *u* in: *dul* *dull*, *foks-dluv* *fox-glove*, *flute(r)* *to flutter*, *kus* (noun, also used as verb) *kiss*, *uvm* *oven*. It is very probable that the *u* in some of these words goes back to OE. *y* (§ 121), as has been pointed out by Prof. Napier in the Academy, May 7, 1892, p. 447.

§ 108. *o* has become *e* through loss of stress in: *šen* *then*, *wen* *when*.

§ 109. *o* in originally open syllables has generally become *oi*: *boil* (O.Icel. *bolr*, ME. *bole*) *bole of a tree*, *foil* *foal*, *goit* (ME. *gote*) *channel*, *mill-stream*, *koil* *coal*, *pig-coit* (OE. *cot*, *cote*) *pig-sty*, *loin* (OE. *lone*) *lane*, *loiz* (OE. *losian*) *to lose*, *moit* *mote*, *oil* *hole*, *roid* (mostly used in the plural *roidz*) *a clearing (of a wood)*, *soil* (OE. *sol*) *ground*,

earth, *soil* (OE. *sole*, Lat. *solea*) *sole*, *tlois* (OE. *close*) *a field*, *toidi* *very small*, *poil* (OE. *polian to endure*) *to give ungrudgingly*, *proit* *throat*.

§ 110. Short *o* in open syllables has remained in: *bodi* (OE. *bodig*) *body*, *popi* (OE. *popig*) *poppy*.

u.

§ 111. Short *u* has generally remained unchanged:

bluðe(r) *to cry, weep*, *buk* *buck*, *bul* *bull*, *bulek* *bullock*, *bun* (pp. of *bind*) *bound, obliged, beholden*, *bute(r)* *butter*, *busl* *to bustle*, *drukþ* (pp.) *drunk*, *dub* *a small pool of water*, *dum* *dumb*, *dun* *to urge for payment*, *dun* *dung*, *ful* *full*, *fule(r)* *fuller*, *fun* (pp.) *found*, *grunsil* *groundsel*, *grunt* *to grunt*, *grumble*, *find* *fault*, *grund* *ground*, *grunz* (pl.) *sediment*, *be-gun* *begun*, *gust* *gust*, *guts* (OE. *gutt*) *entrails, belly*, *jun* *young*, *krudl* (cp. ME. *cruddin*) *to curdle*, *krudz* (ME. *crudde*) *curds*, *krum* *crumb*, *krumpl* *to crumple*, *kudl* *to embrace*, *kuf* (*kuft*) *cuff*, *kum* *to come*, *kunin* *cunning*, *kup* *cup*, *lug* (ME. *luggen*, Swed. *lugga* *to lug, drag*) *to pull the hair of the head*, *lun* *lung*, *luv* *love*, *muml* *to mumble*, *mun* (accented form, O.Icel. *muna* *will, shall*) *must*, *musl* *mussel*, *num* *numb*, *nut* *nut*, *pluk* *to pluck*, *pund* *a pound*, *rudi* *ruddy*, *run* *wrung*, *skuft* *the nape of the neck*, *skul* *skull* (of the head), *skute(r)* *to spill*, *slun* *slung*, *sprun* *sprung*, *spun* *spun*, *stubi* (cp. O.Icel. *stubbi* *stock of a tree*) *short and stiff*, *stump* *stump*, *stun* *to stun*, *stun* *stung*, *stut* (cp. ME. *stutten* *to cease, stay*) *to stutter*, *sum* *some*, *sume(r)* *summer*, *sumet* (lit. *somewhat*) *something, anything*, *sump* *a puddle or dirty pool of water*, *sun* *son*, *sun* *sun*, *sunde* *Sunday*, *sukþ* *sunk*, *sun* *sung*, *swum* (pp.) *swum*, *swun* *swung*, *šrukþ* *shrunk*, *šun* *to shun*,

šūðe(r) (ME. *schuderen*) to shudder, *tlun clung*, *tluste(r) cluster*, *tub* (ME. *tubbe*) *tub*, *tug* (ME. *tuggen*) to tug, *plod*, *tuml* to tumble, *tun tun*, *tun tongue*, *tup* (ME. *tuppe*) a ram, *tusk tusk*, *tšuf proud*, *haughty*, *ug* to carry, *ugli ugly*, *ugn* (see Notes and Queries i. 10. 400, Nov. 18, 1854) *hip*, *ulz* (ME. *huls*) *bean-swads*, *unded hundred*, *unde(r) under*, *uni honey*, *unt* to hunt, *une(r) hunger*, *pune(r) thunder*, *wud wood*, *wulzi wollen*, *wun* (pp.) *wound*, *wun* (pp.) *won*, *wund wound*, *wunde(r) wonder*.

§ 112. u has become ū in: *būk*, *būkþ* (ME. *bulke*, O.Icel. *bulki*) *bulk*, *size*, *e-būn* (OE. *on-bufan*) *above*, *mūfin muffin*, *pūl* to pull, *šūlde(r)* (this word has been influenced by the literary language. Most old people still say *šūðe(r)*) *shoulder*, *wūl wool* (but *wulzi wollen*).

§ 113. u before a following r.

(1) ē: *dēst* *durst*, *kēs* to curse, *skēf* *scurf*, *snēt* (ME. *snurtin*, cp. Low Germ. *snurten* to snort, snore) to sneeze, *giggle*, *tēn* to turn, *tēf turf*.

(2) e: *berē* *borough*, *eri* *row*, *disturbance*, *noise*, *fere* *furrow*.

(3) ue: *due(r)* *door*, *muen* to mourn. It is highly probable, however, that *muen* has nothing to do with OE. *murnan*, but is simply *muen* to moan (§ 122).

§ 114. Medial ug has become ā: *fāl* (OE. *fugol*) *fowl*, *kāl* (OE. *cugle*) *cowl*, *sā* (OE. *sugu*) *sow*.

§ 115. u underwent early lengthening, and then had the same further development as old ū (§ 171) in: *ānd* *hound*, *bāns* (ME. *bunsen*) to bounce, *drānd* (OE. *druncnian*) to drown.

§ 116. u has become iu in: *priu* (*prift*) *through*, *from*, *on account of*.

y.

§ 117. y (=the i-umlaut of u) has generally become i :
bizi busy, brig bridge, brim brim, brimstn brimstone, did did, didl (cp. OE. dyderian) to cheat, din din, dip to dip, dizi dizzy, fl to fill, flig (ME. fligge, cp. OHG. flukke able to fly) to fledge, flit to remove, kiln kiln, økin akin, kinl to bring forth (of rabbits), kinlin firewood, kin king, kripl cripple, kitšn kitchen, ig (OE. hyge mind) mood, temper, il hill, inš inch, ip hip, ipin a cloth placed round the hips of children, lift to lift, lin (O.Icel. lyng) heather, lisn to listen, mig midge, miln mill, nit to knit, pile pillow, pit pit, rig (OE. hrycg) back, rigin ridge of a house, sil sill, sin sin, kã-slip cowslip, snift to sniff, scent, stint to stint, tlik (OE. clycc(e)an, see N.E.D. sub clitch) to seize, snatch, catch hold, tlip to clip, trim to trim, pin thin.

§ 118. yht has become it : *flit flight, frīt fright, rīt wright.*

§ 119. y has become ī before ld : *bīld to build, gīld to gild.*

§ 120. y before a following r.

(1) ē : *bēdn burden, bēl āt (OE. byrlīan) to draw or pour out (drink to or for anyone), bēp birth, ēdl hurdle, fēst first, gēdl girdle, kēnl kernel, mēp(e)r to murder, mēki mirky, šēt shirt, tēd (cp. OE. tyrdel, Stratmann) turd, wēk to work, wēm worm.*

(2) e : *beri to bury, meri merry, sperinz (cp. OE. spyrian) banns of marriage, ste(r) to stir, weri to worry, flig-wet figwort.*

§ 121. y has become u in : *bluš to blush, bruslz bristles, bunl bundle, krutš crutch, muk muck, stubl stubble, šut to shut, šutl shuttle, trunl trundle.*

2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 122. The normal development of OE. ā in the W. dialect is *ue* :

brued broad, *buen* bone, *bue(r)* boar, *buet* boat, *bueþ* both, *druen* drone, *druēv* (noun) drove, *duē* doe, *duēf* dough, *duēfl* cowardly, *duel* dole, *fuem* foam, *gued* goad, *gruen* to groan, *grueþ* to grope, *gruēv* grove, *gue* to go, *e-gue* ago, *guen* gone, *gue(r)* gore, *guest* ghost, *guet* goat, *kruek* to croak, *lued* load, *burden*, *luēf* loaf, *luen* loan, *eluen* alone, *luensm* lonely, *luēþ* loath, *luēð* to loathe, *muen* (OE. *mānan*, ME. *mānen*, *mānen*) to moan, *mue(r)* more, *muest* most, *nue* no, *nuen* none, *rued* road, *ruēþ* rope, *ruē(r)* to roar, *struek* to stroke, *struek* (OE. *strāc*) half a bushel, *stuen* stone, *sue* so, *sueþ* soap, *sue(r)* sore, *thueþ* cloth, *thuez* clothes, *thueð* to clothe, *thueve(r)* clover, *tue* toe, *tued* toad, *tuēkn* token, *tuen* (lit. *the one*) one of two, *ue* who, *uēk* oak, *uēli* holy, *uēl* whole, *uēm* home, *uēnli* lonely, *uē(r)* oar, *uē(r)* hoar, *ues(t)* (OE. *hās*) hoarse, *uēþ* oats, *uēþ* oath, *wue* woe.

§ 123. *āw* has become *oē* :

bloē to blow, *kroē* crow, *kroē* to crow, *moe* to mow, *noē* to know, *sloē* slow, *snoē* snow, *soē* to sow, *þoe* to thaw, *proē* to throw, *oēðe(r)* either, *noēðe(r)* neither.

But we have *ou* in: *out* (OE. *āwiht*) aught, *nout* (OE. *nāwiht*) naught, *soul* (OE. *sāwol*) soul.

§ 124. *ā* has become *ou* in :

lou (O.Icel. *lāgr*) low, *ou* (OE. *āgan*) to owe, *out* (OE. *āhte*) ought; but *oē* in: *oen* (OE. *āgen*) own.

§ 125. *ā* was shortened to *a* at an early period in: *as*, *aks* (OE. *āscian*, *ācsian*) to ask, *alide* (OE. *hālig-dæg*)

holiday, *lavrek* (OE. *lāwerce*, ME. *laveroc*) *lark*, *spatl* (OE. *spātl*) *spittle*. To *e* in *meš mash*, cp. § 59.

And to *o* in *sori* (OE. *sārig*) *sorry*. But this word has probably been influenced by *sore* (OE. *sorg*) *sorrow*.

§ 126. *ā* has become *u* in *ut hot*, *wun one*, *wuns once*.

§ 127. O.Norse *ei* (=OE. *ā*) has become *ee*: *feek* (O.Icel. *feikr*) *trick, deception*, *leek* (O.Icel. *leika*) *to play*, *week* (O.Icel. *veikr*) *weak*. It is not absolutely necessary to assume that these words are of Norse origin; they may be regularly developed from OE. *fācen*, *lācan*, *wāc* with early shortening of the *ā* before the following *k*, cp. words like *leitš leech* (§ 132), *teitš teach* (§ 138), which cannot be of Norse origin.

§ 128. *ā* has become *e* in the unaccented particles: *en an*, *e a*, *an*, *e(r) or*, *ne(r) nor*, *net not*.

§ 129. The following words remain unclassified: *poul pole*, probably an early borrowing from the lit. language; the same is probably the case with *rees race*, *swip to sweep* (OE. *swāpan*, pret. *swēop*) with the vowel of the pret. transferred to the present, *tū two*.

Germanic *æ*.

§ 130. Germanic *æ* (=WS. *æ*, O.North. *ē*) has become *i* in: *grīdi greedy*, *imin* (OE. *æfnung*, ME. *æfening*) *evening*, *nīdl needle*, *rīd to read*, *sīd seed*, *slīp to sleep*, *strīt street*, *šīp sheep*, *tšīz cheese*, *prīd thread*.

§ 131. It has become *ie* in:

brīep breath, *brīeð to breathe*, *dried to dread*, *fīe(r) fear*, *e-fīed afraid*, *iēl eel*, *iērnd errand*, *jīe(r) year*, *mīel meal*, *repast*, *swīel* (OE. *swāelan*, O.Icel. *svāla*) *to gutter (of a candle)*, *šīe(r) there*, *wīepm weapon*, *wīe(r) where*, *wīez to wheeze*.

§ 132. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87): *leitš leech*, *speitš speech*.

§ 133. It has become ee in : *bleet to bleat*, *gree gray*, *ee(r) hair*, *weev wave*.

§ 134. It underwent early shortenings to e in : *bleðe(r) bladder*, *let to let*, *mede meadow*, *red* (OE. *rædde*) *read*, *sed* (OE. *sæde*, older *sægde*, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 214, 3) *said*, *setede* (OE. *sæterdæg*) *Saturday*, *slept slept*, *sez sayest*, *says, šeped shepherd*, *šepste(r) starling*, *wet wet*.

§ 135. It has become a in : *blast blast*.

§ 136. It has become i in : *ridl riddle*, *sili silly*.

OE. *ǣ* (=i-umlaut of *ā*).

§ 137. The normal development of the i-umlaut of *ā* is *ie* :

briedþ breadth, *diel deal*, *dliem gleam*, *iel to heal*, *ielp health*, *iet heat*, *ieðn heathen*, *lied to lead*, *liede(r) tendon*, *lien lean*, *liest least*, *liev to leave*, *mien mean*, *mien to mean*, *intend*, *rie(r) to rear*, *rieþ wreath*, *sie sea*, *siet seat*, *swiet to sweat*, *šiep sheath*, *tiez to tease*, *tlien clean*, *wiet wheat*.

§ 138. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87), cp. also § 132 : *bleitš to bleach*, *reik to reach*, *teitš to teach*.

§ 139. *ǣ* has also become *ei* in :

(1) *lein to lean*, *spreid to spread*.

(2) *kei key*, *nei neigh*.

140. *ǣht* has become *out* : *tout* (OE. *tǣhte*) *taught*.

§ 141. *ǣ* has become *ee* in: *leedi lady*, *steēz stairs*, *tlēe clay*.

§ 142. It has become *oe* in: *noēðe(r) neither*, *oēðe(r) either*. These examples rather belong to § 123. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 346, 348.

§ 143. It underwent early shortening to *e* in: *emti empty*, *fleš flesh*, *left* (pret. and pp.) *left*, *lent* (pret. and pp.) *lent* (*len* to *lend* has its vowel from the pret.) *les less*, *ment meant*.

§ 144. It was shortened at an early period to *a* in: *bad bad*, *fat fat*, *laðe(r) ladder*, *mad mad*, *madlin a bewildered or confused person*, *stupid fellow*, *rasl to wrestle*, *spat* (pret.) *spat*.

§ 145. It has become *i* in *ivē(r) ever*, *ivri every*, *nivē(r) never*.

§ 146. *oni* (OE. *ǣnig*) has been influenced by *moni* (OE. *manig*) *many*.

ē.

1. *ē* (=i-umlaut of *ō*).

§ 147. *ē*, the i-umlaut of *ō*, has become *ī*: *blīd to bleed*, *brīd to breed*, *dīm to deem*, *fīd to feed*, *fīl to feel*, *fīt feet*, *gīs geese*, *grīn green*, *grīt to greet*, *īd heed*, *īl heel*, *kīl* (OE. *cēlan*) *to cool*, *kīn keen*, *kīp to keep*, *kwīn queen*, *mīt to meet*, *sīk to seek*, *sīm to seem*, *slī sly*, *swīt sweet*, *tīm* (O. Icel. *tōma*) *to pour out*, *tīp teeth*, *wīp to weep*.

§ 148. It was shortened early to *e* before consonant combinations in: *bled bled*, *bles to bless*, *bred bred*, *gezlin gosling*, *fed fed*, *felt* (pret.) *felt*, *kept kept*, *met met*, *tem* (pret. of *tīm* § 147) *poured out*, *tem-ful brimful*.

§ 149. The following forms are irregular: *britšez* (OE.

brǣc) *breeches*, **weest** (OE. **wǣste**) *waste*, **wieri** (OE. **wǣrig**) *weary*.

2. **ē** (=older **iē**, partly arising from the i-umlaut of **ēa**, **ēo**, and partly arising from ecthlipsis).

§ 150. This **ē** has also generally become **ī**: **dī** *to dye*, **drī** *dreary*, **litnin** *lightning*, **bē-līv** *to believe*, **nīd** *need*, **sīn** *seen*, **slīv** *sleeve*, **stīl** *steel*, **stīpl** *steeple*, **šīt** *sheet*, **tī** *to tie*, **siks-tīn** *sixteen*.

NOTE.—This **ē** has been shortened to **i** in: **rik** *reek*, **smoke**, **strip** *to strip*.

§ 151. It has become **iē** before a following **r** in: **iēd** *heard*, **iē(r)** *to hear*, **nīē(r)** (OHG. **nioro**) *kidney*, **stīē(r)** *to steer*.

§ 152. **ē** has been shortened to **e** at an early period in: **nekst** *next*.

§ 153. It has become **ēē** in: **ēē** *hay*; and **ēi** in: **ēit** *height*.

3. Germanic **ē**.

§ 154. **let** (pret.) *let*, **iē(r)** *here*. Here may also be placed: **mīdles** (cp. OE. **mēd**, older **meord** *pay*, *reward*) *troublesome*, *tiresome*, *to no purpose*.

4. The OE. **ē** which arose from lengthening in monosyllables (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 121).

§ 155. This **ē** has become **ī** in the following accented forms (§ 350): **ī** *he*, **jī** *ye*, **mī** *me*, **šī** *thee*, **wī** *we*.

i.

§ 156. OE. **ī** has regularly become **ai**: **aidl** *idle*, **aim** (OE. **hrīm**?) *hoarfrost*, **ain** *hind*, **ais** *ice*, **aivi** *ivy*, **baid** (OE. **bīdan**) *to endure*, *put up with*, *wait*, *stay*, *remain*, *bait* *to*

bite, *braidl* *bridle*, *daik* *dike*, *dyke*, *dlaid* *to glide*, *draiv* *to drive*, *fail* *file*, *faiv* *five*, *graip* *to gripe*, *graim* (ME. *grim*) *soot* (*on the kettle*), *kraist* *Christ*, *laif* *life*, *laik* *like*, *laim* *lime*, *lain* *line*, *e-laiv* *alive*, *mai* (accented form) *my*, *mail* *mile*, *main* *mine*, *mait* *mite*, *naif* *knife*, *paik* *pike*, *pail* *pile*, *pain* *to pine*, *paip* *pipe*, *raid* *to ride*, *raip* *ripe*, *rait* *to write*, *raiv* (O. Icel. *rifa* *to break*) *to tear*, *raiz* *to rise*, *said* *side*, *sail* (ME. *sīlen*) *to strain through a sieve*, *saip* (cp. MHG. *sīfen*) *to ooze or drain out slowly*, *saið* *scythe*, *slaid* *to slide*, *slaim* *slime*, *slaip* *to take away the skin or outside covering*, *smait* *to smite*, *snaip* *snipe*, *straid* *to stride*, *straik* *to strike*, *swaim* *to climb up a tree or pole*, *swaip* (cp. MHG. *swīfen*) *to sweep off, remove hastily*, *šain* *to shine*, *šait* *cacare*, *šaiu* (ME. *schīve*) *slice*, *taid* *feast time*, *taidin* *a present from the feast*, *taik* (O. Icel. *tīk* *dog*) *a low fellow*, *taim* *time*, *tait* (in the phrase: *es tait* *as soon*, comp. *taite(r)* *sooner, rather*, ME. *tīt*, O. Icel. masc. *tīðr*, neut. *tītt*) *soon*, *twain* *twine*, *twais* *twice*, *ðai* (accented form) *thy*, *ðain* *thine*, *praiv* *to thrive*, *waid* *wide*, *waif* *wife*, *wail* *a while, time*, *wain* *wine*, *waip* *to wipe*, *wait* *white*, *waiz* *wise*, *fraide* *Friday*.

§ 157. *ī* before a following *r*: *aieu* *iron*, *spaiu(r)* *spire*, *waieu(r)* *wire*.

§ 158. Old *ī* appears as *ī* in: *sī* *to sigh* (§ 318, b), *skriik* (O. Low Germ. *scricōn*, Swed. *skrika*) *to shriek*. And possibly in *stī* (OE. *stīg*, OHG. *stīga*) *ladder*, but see § 94.

§ 159. *īw* has become *iu*: *spiu* (OE. *spīwan*) *to spew*, *tiuzde* (OE. *tīwesdæg*) *Tuesday*.

§ 160. *ī* underwent early shortening to *i* in: *bi* (unaccented form) *by*, *dwinl* *to dwindle*, *fift* *fifth*, *fifti* *fifty*, *fipms* *fivepence*, *linin* *linen*, *linsīd* *linseed*, *stif* *stiff*, *wimin* *women*, *midif* *midwife*, *wizdm* *wisdom*.

§ 161. *rī* has become *ō* through metathesis in : *kēsmeš Christmas*, *kēsŋ to christen*.

§ 162. *ī* has become *u* in : *wumn woman* ; *ie* in : *sniēk to sneak* ; *ē* in : *sterep stirrup*.

ō.

§ 163. The normal development of *ō* is *ui* : *bluid blood*, *bruid brood*, *buin boon*, *buit to boot*, *buiš booth*, *buizm bosom*, *duin done*, *fluid flood*, *fuid food*, *fruit foot*, *guid good*, *guis goose*, *kruidl to shrink or cower with cold, fear or pain*, *kuil cool*, *muid mood*, *muild confusion, bad temper*, *muin moon*, *nuin noon*, *pruiv* (OE. *prōflan* from Lat. *probāre*) *to prove*, *ruid rood*, *ruif roof*, *ruit root*, *skuil school*, *smuiš smooth*, *spuin spoon*, *stuid stood*, *stuil stool*, *suin soon*, *suit soot*, *tuil tool*, *tuip tooth*, *šuin shoes*, *uid hood*, *uif hoof*, *uin* (ME. *hōnen*) *to harass, treat badly*.

§ 164. *ō* has become *iu* before *k*, *m*, and when the vowel has come to stand finally in the mod. dialect.

(a) Before *k* : *briuk brook*, *iuk hook*, *kriuk crook*, *liuk to look*, *niuk nook*, *riuk rook*, *šiuk shook*, *tiuk took*.

būk book, and *kūk cook* have been borrowed from the literary language.

(b) Before *m* : *blium bloom*, *brium broom*, *dlium gloom*, *dium doom*, *gium gum*, *lium loom*.

(c) When final in the mod. dialect : *biu bough*, *diu to do*, *driu drew*, *iniu* (plural) *enough*, *pliu plough*, *sliu slew*, *tiu too*.

šū shoe has been borrowed from the literary language, cp. the pl. form *šuin* § 163. *ō* appears as *i* in *inif* (sing.) *enough*.

§ 165. *ō* has become *uə* before *r*: *dluə(r)* (ME. *glōren*) to stare, *fluə(r)* floor, *muə(r)* moor.

§ 166. *ōw* has become *ou*: *dlou* to glow, *flou* to flow, *grou* to grow, *stou* to stow.

§ 167. *ōht* became *oht* already in OE. (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 125), and has become *out* in the W. dialect, cp. § 101: *brout* brought, *sout* sought, *pout* thought.

§ 168. *ō* has become *ou* in: *skoup* scoop.

§ 169. Shortenings of old *ō*.

(a) To *o*: *blosm* blossom, *foste(r)* foster, *foðe(r)* fodder, *kom* (OE. *cōm*) came, *soft* soft, *šod* shod, *tof* tough.

(b) To *u*: *bruðe(r)* brother, *dluv* glove, *duz* dost, does, *mundə* Monday, *munp* month, *muðe(r)* mother, *sluf* (OE. *slōg*) slough, *tuðe(r)* the other, *uðe(r)* other.

§ 170. *ō* has become *e* in *wednzde* (OE. *wōdnes-dæg*) Wednesday.

ū.

§ 171. *ū* has generally become *ā*: *ā* how, *āl* owl, *āmive(r)* however, *ās* house, *āt* out, *bā* to bow, *bān* (O. Icel. *būenn*, lit. bound; generally used in the sense of going, as *wie(r)* *te bān* ? where art thou going? *am bān dān tloin* I am going down the lane), *brā* brow, *brān* brown, *bāt* (OE. *būtan*, *be-ūtan*) without, *e-bāt* about, *dān* down, *dāst* dust, *dlāmi* (not the same word as gloomy which is *dliumi* § 164) sad, downcast, *drāzi* drowsy, *fāl* foul, ugly, *kā* cow, *krād* crowd, *lād* loud, *lās* louse, *mās* mouse, *māp* mouth, *nā* now, *rām* room, *rāst* rust, *prād* proud, *sāk* to suck, *sāp* south, *slām* (OE. *slūma*) slumber, *sprāt* (cp. ME. *sprūte*, M. Low Germ. *sprūte*) to sprout, *šrād* shroud, *tān* town,

tlād cloud, tlāt clout, trāst (ME. *trūsten*) *to trust*, *ðā* (accented form) *thou*, *pāzn thousand*.

§ 172. *ū* has become *āe* before a following *r*: *āe(r)* (accented form) *our*, *kāe(r) dān* (ME. *couren*, Swed. *kūra to cower*) *to bend down, sit down*, *sāe(r) sour*, *šāe(r) shower*.

But we have *ē* in *pēzde Thursday*.

§ 173. *doen down, feathers*, seems to have been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 174. *ū* was shortened to *u* at an early period in: *busk* (ME. *busken* from O. Icel. *būask to get oneself ready*) *to go about from place to place singing and playing for money*, *druft drought*, *duv dove*, *fus fuss*, *kud* (accented form) *could*, *plum plum*, *ruf rough*, *uni-sukl honeysuckle*, *sup to drink*, *šuv to shove*, *pum thumb*, *ulet owl*, *up up*, *uðe(r) udder*, *uz* (accented form) *us*, *uzbn husband*.

It has been weakened to *e* in the unaccented particle *bed but*.

ȳ.

§ 175. *ȳ*, the *i*-umlaut of *ū*, has become *ai*: *aid hide*, *skin*, *aiv hive*, *braid bride*, *brain brine*, *drai dry*, *draip to drip*, *daiv to dive*, *kait kite*, *lais lice*, *mais mice*, *praid pride*, *skai sky*.

§ 176. It has become *aie* before a following *r*: *aie(r)* *to hire*, *faie(r) fire*, *maie(r) mire*.

§ 177. It underwent early shortening to *i* in: *flp filth*, *idn* (pp. from which was formed a new present *id to hide*), *litl little*, *lits* (retained only in the game of *lits en gōts lit. littles and greats*, a game played by boys with brass buttons, clog clasps, or small pieces of brass of any kind. Two *lits*

have the value of one *gēt*; cp. P. B. Beitr. ix. p. 365-7).
piml thimble, wiš to wish.

§ 178. *ȳ* (?) has become *u* in *prust to thrust*.

3. The Diphthongs.

ēa.

§ 179. OE. *ēa* has generally become *iə*: *biem beam*, *bien bean*, *biet to beat*, *bried bread*, *died dead*, *dief deaf*, *diep death*, *driem dream*, *e-gien again, against*, *ied head*, *iēp heap*, *iē(r) ear*, *iēst east*, *iēste(r) Easter*, *lied lead*, *lief leaf*, *be-lief belief*, *niē(r) near*, *pie-kok peacock*, *siem seam*, *stiem steam*, *stiep steep*, *strie* (WS. *strēa*, O. North. *strē*, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 250, note 2) *straw*, *striem stream*, *šief sheaf*, *tiem team*, *tšiep cheap*, *priep* (OE. *prēapian to rebuke*) *to contradict*, *prietn to threaten*.

§ 180. *ēaw* has become *eu*: *deu dew*, *eu to hew*, *feu* (OE. *fēawe*) *few*, *šeu to show*, *teu* (OE. *tēawian*) *to work zealously*.

But we have *oe* in *roe* (OE. *hrēaw*) *raw*; which presupposes a form *hrāw* (§ 123).

§ 181. It has become *ī* in: *ī* (plural *in*) *eye*, *tšik cheek*. The latter word has probably been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 182. It has become *ei* in: *ei* (OE. *hēah*) *high*, *nei* (OE. *nēah*) *nigh, near*. The ME. forms *heh* and *neh* would regularly become diphthongized to *ei*, see § 87.

§ 183. It has become *ee* in: *flee* (OE. *fīēan*, Skeat, Etym. Dict. p. 211) *to skin*, *neebe(r) neighbour*.

§ 184. O. Norse *au* has become *ou* in: *loup* (O. Icel. *hlaupa*) *to leap, jump*, *lous* (O. Icel. *lauss*) *loose*; and *oe* in: *goem* (O. Icel. *gaum*) *heed, care, attention*, *goemlæs* *silly, stupid*, *roet* (O. Icel. *rauta to roar*) *to bray*.

§ 185. *ēa* has become *ē* through absorption of *r* in: *gēt* *great*.

§ 186. Shortenings of *ēa*:

(a) To *e* in: *efē(r)* *heifer*, *lek* *leek*, *red* *red*.

(b) To *a* in: *laðē(r)* *lather*, *tšap* *chap*.

ēo.

§ 187. OE. *ēo* has generally become *ī*: *bī* *bee*, *bī* (accented form) *to be*, *bīn* *been*, *dīp* *deep*, *dlī* *glee*, *fīnd* *fiend*, *fīi* *to fly*, *fīi* *fly*, *fīis* *fleece*, *fīi* *free*, *fīiz* *to freeze*, *kīp* *to creep*, *lī* *to lie*, *līf* (OE. *lēof*) *soon*, *līve(r)* *sooner, rather*, *līt* *a light*, *nī* *knee*, *nīz* (O. Icel. *hniōsa*) *to sneeze*, *rīd* *reed*, *rīl* *reel*, *prīst* *priest*, *sī* *to see*, *sīð* *to seethe*, *snīz* *to sneeze*, *tlīv* *to cleave*, *trī* *tree*, *bē-twīn* *between*, *pī* *thigh*, *pīf* *thief*, *pī* *three*, *wīd* *weed*, *wīl* *wheel*.

But we have *tšiuz* *to choose* (§ 366).

§ 188. It has become *ie* before *a* following *r*: *bie(r)* *beer*, *die(r)* *dear*, *drieri* *dreary*.

§ 189. Before *r*+consonant it became shortened to *e* already in ME., and then had the same further development as old *e* before *r*+consonant (§ 87): *dālin* (OE. *dēorling*, ME. *derrling*) *darling*, *fādin* (OE. *fēorðung*, ME. *ferthing*) *farthing*.

§ 190. *ēow* has become *iu*: *bliu* *blew*, *briu* *to brew*, *griu* *grew*, *jiuþ* *youth*, *kriu* *crew*, *niu* *new*, *niu* *knew*, *riu* *to*

rue, *sniu* (§ 377) *it snowed*, *thiu clew*, *triu true*, *triup truth*, *siu sowed*, *priu threw*.

But in the following words we have *eu* which points to an old *ēaw* (§ 180): *eu yew*, *seu to sew*, *tšeu to chew*. We have *oue* in: *foue(r)* (OE. *fēower*, but ME. *fōwer*, which would regularly become *foue(r)* in the dialect, § 166) *four*, *fouet* (OE. *fēowerða*) *fourth*, *fouetīn* (OE. *fēowertēne*) *fourteen*. And *āe* in: *jāe(r)* (accented form) *your*. This last word has been influenced by *āe(r)* *our*, § 172.

§ 191. The following two words remain unclassified: *šū* (accented form) *she*, *šuit to shoot*.

§ 192. Early shortenings of *ēo*:

(a) To *e* in: *breſt breast*, *fel* (pret.) *fell*, *frend friend*, *ſtep-faðe(r) step-father*. Anglian *ēo* (= WS. *īe*) has been shortened to *e* in: *depp depth*, *ten ten*.

(b) To *o* in: *foti forty*, *foṭnit fortnight*.

(c) To *i* in: *diwl devil*, *sik sick*, *e tūpri* lit. *a two* (or) *three, a few*.

(d) To *e* in: *se ðe* lit. *see thou, look!* *prepmſ threepence*.

Elision of *e*.

§ 193. The *e* is elided in the diphthongs and triphthongs *ee*, *ie*, *oe*, *ue*, *āe*, *aie*, *iue*, *oue*, when they occur finally and the next word begins with a vowel; thus *gue* but *gu uem go home*, *me ai may I*, but *mee wī* (§ 393), *noe* but *a no im I know him*, and similarly for the others.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH ELEMENT.

IN the following treatment of the French element in the W. dialect, the present pronunciation of literary English has, in most cases, been taken as the starting point. The transcription of the lit. English vowel sounds is based on that given in Sweet's *Primer of Spoken English*, pp. 7-8, and is as follows:—

ʊ	as in	just, dozen, double.
ā	„	grant, art, master.
ai	„	fine, pie, try.
au	„	doubt, powder.
æ	„	value, rat.
e	„	debt, measure.
ei	„	bacon, bailiff, pay.
ee	„	pair, chair.
ē	„	furnish, journey.
i	„	dinner, pity.
ij	„	beak, secret, beef, grief.
ie	„	fierce, clear.
o	„	jolly, profit.
oi	„	boil, poison.
ou	„	roast, notice.

ō	„	pork, daub, false.
u	„	put, butcher.
uw	„	fruit, blue.
ue	„	sure, poor.

§ 194. Lit. Engl. æ (written a) appears as a : *abit habit, aktli actually, ali aisle, alley, arend* (ME. *araine*, O. Fr. *araigne*) *spider, avek havoc, baril barrel, damidž damage, faks facts, galek* (O. Fr. *gale*) *lefthand, galep to gallop, galn gallon, garit garret, gran-fađe(r), gram-fađe(r) grand-father, kap cap, kapil* (Fr. *capel* a little hat, Cotgr.) *a piece of leather sewn over a hole in a boot or shoe, karit carrot, lamp lamp, mane(r) manner, map* (see Skeat, Etym. Dict. sub *mop*) *a mop, mare to match a pattern, natrel (natre-bl) natural, pantri pantry, ratn* (O. Fr. *raton*) *rat, salit salad, skafi scaffold, skafin scaffolding, stati statue, tali to agree, be right, te liv tali to live together without being married, tšapil chapel, vali valley, vale value.*

§ 195. Lit. Engl. has ā where the W. dial. has a in : *basted bastard, branš branch, grant to grant, paste(r) pasture, plant plant.*

But ee in : *bees bass, leerem alarum, meeste(r) master, pleeste(r) plaster.*

§ 196. Lit. Engl. has ei (written a), but W. dial. a in : *apren apron, stapl staple.*

But we have *moendž mange.*

§ 197. a has become e before a following g, n, š, cp. § 59 :

dregn dragon.

blenk blank, blenkit blanket, kenke(r) (ME. *cancren*) *to corrode, lenwidž language, plenk plank, renk rank.*

bešfi bashful, fešn fashion, pešn passion, seš sash.

§ 198. *ai* has become *oe* in the combinations *lk*, *lm*, *ll*, cp. § 62.

goeki (but *galek* § 326) *left handed*, *boem* *balm*, *oeminak* *almanac*, *oemend* *almond*, *boel* *ball*.

§ 199. *ai* in the combination *ld* has become *ou*, cp. § 64: *skoud* to *scald*.

The same sound also occurs in *fout* (ME. *faute*) *fault*.

§ 200. *a* has become *o* before *a* following *n* in: *dons* *dance*, *ont* *aunt*, *trons* *trance*, *tšons* *chance*, *tšont* *chant*.

§ 201. *a* has become *e* in: *rediš* *radish*.

§ 202. *a* has been retained where in the lit. language it has become *o* through the influence of the preceding *w* in: *kwaleti* *quality*, *kwari* *stone-quarry*, *warənd* to *warrant*, *walep* (cp. Fr. *galoper* to *curry*, use *rudely*, Cotgr.) to *beat*, *flog*.

§ 203. *ar* in the combination *r* + consonant has become *ee*, which shows that *ar* in this combination was pronounced differently in Engl. and Fr. words in the ME. period; cp. § 61.

beebe(r) *barber*, *beedž* *barge*, *beegr* *bargain*, *beete(r)* to *barter*, *deet* to *dart*, *eet* *art*, *skill*, *geed* *guard*, *geedn* *garden*, *geete(r)* *garter*, *keed* *card*, *keekes* (Fr. *carquasse*, Cotgr.) *body*, *carcase*, *kweet* *quart*, *kweete(r)* *quarter*, *peedn* *pardon*, *peesl* *parcel*, *peet* *part*, *peetne(r)* *partner*, *skeelet* *scarlet*, *tšeedž* *charge*.

§ 204. Lit. Engl. *ei* (written *a*, *ai* (*ay*), *ei*) appears in the W. dial. as *ee*: *beekn* *bacon*, *beel* *bale*, *beeli* (*bum-beeli*, cp. O. Fr. *baili*) *bailiff*, *beet* to *abate*, *bleem* *blame*, *bree* (ME. *braiin*, O. Fr. *breier*) to *beat*, *pound*, *deendže(r)* *danger*, *deenti* *dainty*, *deet* *date*, *deevi* *affidavit*, *eebl* *able*, *eedž* *age*, *eem* to *aim*, *intend*, *eənšn* *ancient*, *feed* *fade*, *feel*

to fail, feent to faint, fees face, feep faith, feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, fleem flame, gee gay, ingeedž to engage, greenz (pl.) malt which has been used in brewing beer, grees grace, greet grate, keedž cage, kees case, lees lace, meesn mason, neete(r) nature, pee pay, peedž page, peel pale, peen pain, peen pane of glass, peent paint, pees pace, peest (but pasti pasty) paste, pleen plain, plees place, pleet plate, pree (but pre-ðe (I) pray thee) to pray, preet to prate, babble, preez to praise, reedž rage, reet rate, seef safe, seekrid sacred, seem (often called swainseem, Ancren Riwle seim, OE. seime adipe, Ps. lxii. 6, E. E. T. S. No. 92, from O. Fr. sain) lard, seent (but before names sant) saint, seev to save, skeelz scales, steobl stable, streendž strange, teobl table, tee(e)(r), teelje(r) tailor, teest taste, tleem to claim, treel (Fr. trailler) to drag, treen train, tseef to chafe, tseeme(r) chamber, tseendž change, veen vein, weet to wait.

NOTE.—*contrary* is kontréeri.

§ 205. Before a simple *r* we have the same development as the lit. language: pee(r) pair, pee(r) to peel, tsee(r) chair.

e.

§ 206. *e* (written *e*, *ea*) in the lit. language has generally remained in the W. dialect: bezl to embezzle, demək (from epidemic) potato disease, demekt diseased (of potatoes), det debt, dželes jealous, dželi jelly, e-semł to assemble, fend to provide for oneself, fent remnant of a piece of cloth, fezn pheasant, ges to guess, letə(r) letter, letis lettuce, mel (Fr. mail) mallet, mel (ME. mellen, medlen, O.Fr. medler) to meddle, mend to mend, meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, prentis apprentice, sens sense, ses assessment, tax, spekteklz

spectacles, *treml* to *tremble*, *treze(r)* *treasure*, *vente(r)* to *venture*, *vesl* *vessel*.

But *fliem* *phlegm*, *sieno* *senna*.

§ 207. *e* has become *ā* before a following consonant: *konsān* *concern*, *pāsn* *parson*, *sādžn* *sergeant*, *sāmen* *sermon*, *sāvnt* *servant*, *sāvis* *service*, *tlāk* *clerk*, *vāment* *vermin*, *vāniš* *varnish*.

In the following two words we have *a*: *arend* (O.Fr. *errant*) *notoriously bad*, *sare* (rarely *sāv*) *to serve*. On *sare* see Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England*, p. 91. *ie* in: *ieḃ* *herb*, and *e* in: *tšeri* *cherry*.

§ 208. *e* has become *a* before a following *r* in *tarie(r)* (M.E. *terrere*) *terrier dog*, *vari* *very*.

But *pie(r)* *pear*.

§ 209. *e* has become *i* before a following nasal in: *indžoi* *to enjoy*, *indžn* *engine*, *ingeedž* *to engage*, *ink* *ink*, *lints* *lentils*, *simetri* *cemetery*, *šimi* *chemise*.

tribl *treble* (in music) from contamination with *triple*, and *pribl* *threefold* from contamination with *pri*.

§ 210. *e* has become *a* in *saleri* *celery*, cp. *sallary* sub *celery* in N.E.D.

i.

§ 211. *i* has generally remained in the W. dialect: *dine(r)* *dinner*, *dizml* *dismal*, *finiš* *to finish*, *gimlek* (this word has now almost gone out of use, its place being taken by *gimlit*) *gimlet*, *gizn* *to choke*, *gizn* (Fr. *guisern*, Cotgr. sub *gesier*) *gizzard*, *konsiđe(r)* *to consider*, *limit* *limit*, *list* *list*, *list* *to enlist*, *live(r)* *to deliver*, *ministe(r)* *minister*, *mins* *mince*, *mistšif* *mischief*, *pidžn* *pigeon*, *pik* *pickaxe*,

pinien opinion, **piti** pity, **rive(r)** river, **sinl** single, **siðez** scissors, **skripte(r)** scripture, **tift** (cp. ME. **tiffen** from O. Fr. **tiffer** to adorn) condition, state, order, **tšimli** chimney, **twilt** quilt.

§ 212. **i** has become **e** in: **lenit** linnet, **rebit** rivet, **redžeste(r)** to register, **rens** to rinse.

§ 213. **i** has become **e** in **sperit** spirit; and **a** in **krakit** cricket (game).

O.

§ 214. Lit. Engl. short **o** = W. dial. **o**: **boni** nice, pretty, **džoli** jolly, **džosl** to jostle, **kole(r)** collar, **kotn** cotton, **lodž** to lodge, **mot**, **moti** (French **motte**, Cotgr., edit. 1673) a mark at quoits, **obstakl** obstacle, **oke-daik** (Fr. **oker** Cotgr.) small stream of iron-water, **one(r)** honour, **rok** rock, **poridž** porridge, **posnit** (O. Fr. **poçonet**) saucepan, **pot** pot, **profit** profit, **soðe(r)** solder.

§ 215. **o** has become **u** in: **nuvl** novel, **nuvis** novice.

§ 216. Lit. Engl. **oi** = W. dial. **oi**: **boil** to boil, **džoi** joy, **džoint** joint, **e-noi** to annoy, **koit** quoit, **coit**, **loin** loin, **moist** moist, **moiste(r)** moisture, **noiz** noise, **oil** oil, **ointment** ointment, **oiste(r)** oyster, **point** point, **poizn** poison, **soil** soil, ground, **spoil** to spoil, **tšois** choice, **vois** voice, **voiðe(r)** large clothes' basket.

§ 217. Lit. Engl. **ou** (written **oa**) = W. dial. **o** in: **gol** (only used in the game of **lits en gêts** § 177, O. Fr. **gaul**) goal, **rost** to roast.

§ 218. Lit. Engl. **ou** (written, **o**, **oo**, **oa**) = W. dial. **ue** in: **bruetsš** brooch, **kuetsš** coach, **nuebl** noble, **nuetis** notice, **pueni** pony, **puest** post, **puezi** nosegay, **rueb** robe, **rueg** rogue, **tluek** cloak.

§ 219. Lit. Engl. *ou* (written *o*, *oa*) = W. dial. *oi* in: *broiṡ* to *broach*, *doiṡ* to *dote*, *koit* coat, *loiṡ* loach, *tloiṡ* close, narrow, *tloiṡ* to close, *toiṡ* to toast.

§ 220. Lit. Engl. *ou* (written *o*, *oa*, *ou*, *ow*) = W. dial. *ou* in: *boul* bowl, *koul* (O. Fr. *coillir*) to rake; *moud* mould, model, *poutri* poultry, *pouṡ* to poach, *roul* to roll, *soudžə(r)* soldier.

But we have *pūltis* poultrice.

NOTE.—The first element of the W. diphthong is not the *o* in *not*. See § 7.

§ 221. Lit. Engl. *uw* (written *oo*) = W. dial. *ui*: *buit* boot, *fuil* fool, *gruin* (ME. *groin*, O. Fr. *groing*) snout of a pig.

§ 222. Lit. Engl. *ue* (written *oor*) = W. dial. *ue*: *pue(r)* poor, *pueḷi* poorly, ill.

§ 223. Lit. Engl. long open *ō* sound (written *or* before a following consonant) = W. dial. *ue* in: *fuedž* forge, *fues* force, *kued* cord, *puek* pork, *puešn* portion, *pueṡə(r)* porter.

But we have *foeṡit* to forfeit, *foem* form, *foetn* fortune, *koene(r)* corner, *oeḡə(r)* order.

§ 224. *ue* occurs before single *r* in *dluəri* glory, *stuəri* story. And *e* in *fərin* foreign.

§ 225. Lit. Engl. long open *ō* (written *au*, *aw*) = W. dial. *oe* in: *doeb* (ME. *daubin*, O. Fr. *dauber*) to daub, smear, *džoem* (Fr. *jaumbe*, Cotgr.) the side post of a door or chimney piece, *džoenes* jaundice, *froed* fraud, *koese* causeway, *poe* paw, *poez* (O. Fr. *poulser*, *posser*) to kick, *soes* sauce.

But we have short *o* in *bə-kos*, *e-kos*, *kos* because, *fols* false; in reference to a child, implying that it is shrewd and witty beyond its years.

u.

§ 226. Lit. Engl. *u* (written *u*, *o*, *ou*)=W. dial. *u*: *bukit* bucket, *bulďž* to bulge, *butn* button, *buzed* (O. Fr. *busart*) butterfly, *dlutn* glutton, *dubl* double, *duzn* dozen, *džudž* judge, *džust* just, *frunt* front, *gruml* to grumble, *gulit* gullet, channel for water, *gute(r)* gutter, *guzl* to swallow greedily, *krust* crust, *kruš* to crush, *kule(r)* colour, *kumfet* comfort, *kumpni* company, *kuntri* country, *kupl* couple, *kusted* custard, *kustm* custom, *kuve(r)* to cover, *kuzin*, *kuzn* cousin, *muni* (a commoner word is *bras*) money, *munril mongrel*, *musted* mustard, *mutn* mutton, *muzl* muzzle, *nume(r)* number, *plume(r)* plumber, *pulp* pulp, *rikuve(r)* to recover, *rubiš* rubbish, *sudn* sudden, *sufe(r)* to suffer, *sumen* to summon, *supe(r)* supper, *stuf* stuff, *trubl* trouble, *trunk* trunk, *tšuk* to throw, *pitch*, *tun* tun, *tutš* to touch, *uml* humble, *unien* onion, *unkl* uncle.

But we have *foisti fusty*.

§ 227. Lit. Engl. *u* (written *u*, and mostly occurring after labials)=W. dial. *u*: *bušl* bushel, *butše(r)* butcher, *bulit* bullet, *puli* pulley, *pulit* pullet, *puš* to push, *put* to put.

But we have *siuge(r)* sugar, see § 310, 1; *pulpit* *pulpit*.

§ 228. Lit. Engl. *ē* (written *ur*, *our* before a following consonant)=W. dial. *ē*, see § 113 *a*: *bāl* (ME. *burle*) to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or cloth, *distōb* to disturb, *džēni* journey, *fēniš* to furnish, *fēnite(r)* furniture, *kēn* currant, *nēs* nurse, *pēs* purse, *tēn* to turn, *tēnep* turnip, *ēt* to hurt.

ai.

§ 229. Lit. Engl. ai (written i, ie, y)=W. dial. ai: *ed-vaiz* *advice*, *ed-vaiz* *to advise*, *e-plai* *to apply*, *fain* *fine*, *frai* *to fry*, *kontráiv* *to contrive*, *krai* *cry*, *nais* *nice*, *pai* *pie*, *paint* *pint*, *prais* *price*, *praiz* *to lift with a lever*, *rais* *rice*, *sailm* *asylum*, *sain* *sign*, *saizez* *assizes*, *strai* *to strive*, *tais* *to entice*, *trai* *to try*, *traifl* *trifle*.

But *tšiene* *china ware*.

ai also occurs in: *džais* (O. Fr. *giste*) *joist*, *paik* *to pick*, *select*.

e-blidž (pp. *e-blitšt*) *to oblige*, and *leelek* *lilac*, still remain to be explained.

§ 230. Lit. Engl. aiə=W. dial. aiə: *dizaie(r)* *desire*, *kwaie* *quiet*, *raie* *riot*, *umpaie(r)* *umfire*, *vaiellet* *violet*.

ij.

§ 231. Lit. Engl. ij (written ea, ei, e, ee, ie) appears in the W. dial. as ie in: *biek* *beak*, *biest* *beast*, but *bies* *cows*, *disiet* *deceit*, *disiev* *to deceive*, *fiel* *feeble*, *fiet* *feat*, *fiest* *feast*, *fiete(r)* *feature*, *gries* *grease*, *iege(r)* *eager*, *iegl* *eagle*, *iokwl* *equal*, *iez* *ease*, *nies* *niece*, *niet* *neat*, *tidy*, *piel* *to appeal*, *pies* *peace*, *plied* *to plead*, *pliez* *to please*, *riel* *real*, *riezn* *reason*, *risiet* *receipt*, *recipe*, *risiev* *to receive*, *siekrit* *secret*, *sies* *to cease*, *siezn* *season*, *tie* *tea*, *triet* *treat*, *trietl* *treacle*, *tšiet* *to cheat*, *viel* *veal*.

§ 232. Lit. Engl. ij=W. dial. ī in: *bīf* *beef*, *e-grī* *to agree*, *grīf* *grief*, *pīp* (pp. *pept*) *to peep*, *pīs* *piece*.

§ 233. Lit. Engl. ie=W. dial. ie in: *fies* *fierce*, *tlie(r)* *clear*.

§ 234. Lit. Engl. ij W. dial. ei in: *dein* *dean*, *preitš* *to preach*.

ai in : **bastail** (Fr. *bastille*) *workhouse, union*.

ee in : **konseet conceit**.

i in : **pil** to *peel*, **pilinz** the *peels of potatoes*, etc.

e in : **mezlz** *measles*.

au.

§ 235. Lit. Engl. **au** (written *ou, ow*) appears in the W. dial as **ā** : **āl** to *howl*, **āns** *ounce*, **bānti** *bounty*, **dāt** *doubt*, **o-kānt** *account*, **o-lā, lā** to *allow*, **o-mānt** *amount*, **frān** to *frown*, **gān** *gown*, **gāt** *gout*, **kānsl** to *counsel*, **kānt** to *count*, **kātš** *couch*, **krān** *crown*, **lāns** an *allowance of refreshment* or *money*, **mānt** to *mount*, **māt** (Lat. *mūtāre*) to *moult*, **pāðe(r)** *powder*, **rānd** *round*, **sānd** *sound, noise*, **stāt** *stout*, **tā-il** (also *tail*) *towel*, **trā-il** *trowel*, **trāns** to *beat, flog*, **vā** *vow*.

au appears as **ū** in : **trūzez** *trousers*.

§ 236. Lit. Engl. **auē** = W. dial. **āe** : **āe(r)** *hour*, **divāe(r)** to *devour*, **flāe(r)** *flower, flour*, **pāe(r)** *power*, **tāe(r)** *tower*.

juw.

§ 237. Lit. Engl. **juw** (written *eau, ue, u, ui, ew, iew*) is **īu** in the W. dialect : **biuti** *beauty*, **diu** *due*, **diuti** *duty*, **fiuil** *fuel*, **fiute(r)** *future*, **ius** *use*, **iuneti** *unity*, **iunien** *union*, **iusfl** *useful*, **iusles** *useless*, **iuз** to *use*, **miul** *mule, donkey*, **miuzik** *music*, **piu** *pew*, **pius** *puce* *colour*, **rifīuz** to *refuse*, **siut** *suit*, **stiupid** *stupid*, **viu** *view*.

But we have **ā** in : **kākume(r)** *cucumber*.

jue.

§ 238. Lit. Engl. **jue** (written *ure*) = W. dial. **īue** : **kiue(r)** *cure*, **meniue(r)** *manure*, **piue(r)** *pure*.

uw.

§ 239. Lit. Engl. uw (written ue, ui, u, and mostly occurring after l, r, s) is *iu* in the W. dialect: *bliu* *blue*, *bliuz* (pl.) *delirium tremens*, *fliu* *flue*, *fliut* *flute*, *seliut* *to salute*.

friut *fruit*, *griuil* *gruel*, *rikriut* *to recruit*, *riubub* *rhubarb*, *riul* *rule*, *riume(r)* *rumour*, *riuin* *ruin*.

siu *to sue*, *siuit* *suet*.

uo.

§ 240. Lit. Engl. ue=W. dial. iue: *siue(r)* *sure*, *siueli* *surely*, *unsiue(r)* *uncertain*.

CHAPTER V.

VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

§ 241. Diphthongs and short and long vowels in unaccented syllables have regularly been weakened to *e*, *i*, or the vowel has disappeared altogether. In the latter case, when an *l*, *m*, *n* followed, it has become vocalic.

1. *e*.

§ 242. *a*. In initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

befue(r) *before*, **begin** *to begin*, and similarly in all other words containing this prefix; **fəgetn** (pp.) *forgot*, **ebāt** (also **bāt**) *about*, *without*, **ebūn** *above*, **efléd** *afraid*, **efued** *to afford*, **efue(r)** *before*, **egeet** *in action*, *at work*, **egien** *again*, *against*, **egrī** *to agree*, **egue** *ago*, **ekin** *akin*, **ekos** (also **kos**) *because*, **elaiv** *alive*, **eluen** *alone*, **emerə** *among*, **enent** *opposite*, **enoi** *to annoy*, **eplai** *to apply*, **eseml** *to assemble*, **estied** *instead*, **ewee** *away*, **meniue(r)** *manure*, **seliut** *salute*, **te-moen** *to-morrow*.

But we have **edikéet** *to educate*, **ekuedinlái** *accordingly*, **kontréeri** *contrary*, **redžéste(r)** *to register*, **siuelī** *surely*, **spektéklz** *spectacles*.

§ 243. *b.* In syllables preceded by the principal accent :

basted *bastard*, *baleks* *testiculi*, *bulek* *bullock*, *buzed* *butterfly*, *dželes* *jealous*, *džoenes* *jaundice*, *figwet* *figwort*, *galep* *to gallop*, *gimlek* *gimlet*, *kēsmes* *Christmas*, *kolep* *slice of bacon*, *koese* *causeway*, *kubed* *cupboard*, *kusted* *custard*, *lavrek* *lark*, *leelēk* *lilac*, *loped* *clotted*, *covered with dirt*, *mare* *to match a pattern*, *musted* *mustard*, *otšed* *orchard*, *omest* *almost*, *oles* *always*, *sakles* *silly*, *foolish*, *sare* *to serve*, *sienne* *senna*, *simetri* *cemetery*, *sičez* *scissors*, *spitek* *spigot*, *šeped* *shepherd*, *sterep* *stirrup*, *tōnep* *turnip*, *ulet* *owl*, *unded* *hundred*, *vale* *value*, *winde* *window*.

are *arrow*, *bare* *barrow*, *bore* *to borrow*, *fale* *fallow*, *fole* *to follow*, *fere* *furrow*, *jare* *yarrow*, *jole* *yellow*, *mare* *marrow*, *mede* *meadow*, *nare* *narrow*, *ole* *hollow*, *pile* *pillow*, *sale* *sallow*, *sore* *sorrow*, *spare* *sparrow*, *swole* *to swallow*, *swole* *swallow*, *šade* *shadow*, *šale* *shallow*, *tale* *tallow*, *wide* *widow*, *wile* *willow*.

ame(r) *hammer*, *bleče(r)* *bladder*, *bute(r)* *butter*, *fače(r)* *father*, *gane(r)* *gander*, *geče(r)* *to gather*, *kenke(r)* *to rust*, *corrode*, *neebe(r)* *neighbour*, *oeče(r)* *either*, *pleeste(r)* *plaster*, *skute(r)* *to spill*, *slume(r)* *slumber*, *šuče(r)* *to shudder*, *tarie(r)* *terrier*, *pune(r)* *thunder*, *unsiue(r)* *uncertain*, *une(r)* *hunger*, *wote(r)* *water*.

fēnite(r) *furniture*, *flute(r)* *future*, *moiste(r)* *moisture*, *neete(r)* *nature*, *paste(r)* *pasture*, *pikte(r)* *picture*.

meze(r) *measure*, *pleze(r)* *pleasure*, *treze(r)* *treasure*.

But we have *óeminak* *almanac*, *bástail* *union*, *work-house*, *óbstakl* *obstacle*, *riubub* *rhubarb*.

In compounds, some of which have been given above : *beekes* *bakehouse*, *koiles* *coalhouse*, *wākes* *union*, *work-house*, *wešes* *washhouse*, *alide* *holiday*, *jestede* *yesterday*, *wāte* (lit. *work-day*) *week-day*, *sunde* *Sunday*, and similarly

for the other days of the week, **nek-lep** *neck cloth, handkerchief*, **baked** *backward*, **fored** *forward*, **tādz** *towards*, **forediš** *rather forward*, **oeked** *awkward*, **oepep** *halfpenny worth*, **penep** *pennyworth*, **sumet** *something, anything*.

2. i.

§ 244. a. In initial syllables followed by the principal accent :

indžoi *to enjoy*, **ingeedž** *to engage*, **disiet** *deceit*, **disiev** *to deceive*, **minístē(r)** *minister*.

§ 245. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent :

āvis(t) *harvest*, **blerkit** *blanket*, **bulit** *bullet*, **damidž** *damage*, **ienis(t)** *earnest*, **inif** (sing.) *enough*, pl. **iniu**, **ferin** *foreign*, **foṭnit** *fortnight*, **gulit** *water channel*, **karit** *carrot*, **lenit** *linnet*, **letis** *lettuce*, **olin** *holly*, **posnit** *saucepan*, **pul-pit** *pulpit*, **pūltis** *poultice*, **salit** *salad*, **sperit** *spirit*, **rebit** *rivet*, **rediš** *radish*.

bāli *barley*, **beeli** *bailiff*, **beli** *belly*, **beri** *berry*, **beri** *to bury*, **bodi** *body*, **but** **nuebdi** *nobody*, **boni** *nice*, **pretty**, **dizi** *dizzy*, **emti** *empty*, **evi** *heavy*, **eri** *hurry*, **row**, *disturbance*, **kani** *knowing*, *intelligent*, *skilful*, *nimble*, **leedi** *lady*, **meri** *merry*, **moni** *many*, **nevi** *nephew*, **oepni** *halfpenny*, **but** **oepep** *halfpenny worth*, **oni** *any*, **peni** *penny*, **but** **penep** *pennyworth*, **popi** *poppy*, **pratli** *gently*, *softly*, **rudi** *ruddy*, **sili** *silly*, **slipi** *slippery*, **sori** *sorry*, **snikit** *a small passage*, **stati** *statue*, **šabi** *shabby*, **šimi** *chemise*, **tali** *to agree*, **pēti** *thirty*, **ueli** *holy*, **uenli** *lonely*, **vali** *valley*, **vari** *very*, **weri** *to worry*.

fādin *farthing*, **gezlin** *gosling*, **imin** *evening*, **ipin** *a cloth placed round the hips of children*, **kunin** *cunning*, **skaftin** *shafting*, **sperinz** *the banns of marriage*, **swilinz** *thin liquid*

food for pigs, šilin shilling, topin the front part of the hair of the head, runin running, and similarly in all present participles and words ending in the lit. language in -ing.

3. Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

§ 246. *a.* Initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

bāt without, beet to abate, kros across, leṽm eleven, pinien opinion, prentis apprentice, sailm asylum.

bezl to embezzle, bake tobacco, kos because, lāns allowance, list to enlist, live(r) deliver, lotments allotments, piel to appeal, saiet̃i society, saizez assesses, ses to assess, tax, tais to entice, twīn between, vantidž advantage.

deevi affidavit, demək (lit. epidemic) potato disease.

§ 247. *b.* In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

aktli actually, dif-rnt different, dž̃en-rl general, kumpni company, nat-rl, nat-re-bl natural, nuebdi nobody, navi (lit. navigation?) canal, 'oep̃ep̃ halfpenny worth, penep̃ pennyworth, reg-le(r) regular, sumdi somebody.

Vocalic *l*:

anl handle, apl apple, ginl a long narrow uncovered passage, gruml to grumble, kanl candle, ketl kettle, kredl cradle, kudl to embrace, sir̃l single, smitl to infect, spinl spindle, piml thimble, uml humble.

Vocalic *m*:

bodm bottom, buism bosom, eṽm heaven, fadm fathom, fip̃ms five pence, kustm custom, luensm lonely, wizdm wisdom, wise, wiepm weapon.

Vocalic *n*:

ādn to harden, brimstn brimstone, eenš̃n ancient, fasn to

fasten, *fešn* *fashion*, *frozn* *frozen*, *indžn* *engine*, *inlnd* *England*, *foṭn* (pp.) *fought*, *foetn* *fortune*, *mutn* *mutton*, *pidžn* *pigeon*, *ratn* *rat*, *sāvnt* *servant*, *seldn* *seldom*, *slidn* (pp.) *slid*, *tšozn* *chosen*, *pāzn* *thousand*.

Vocalic *n* :

beegn *bargain*, *beekn* *bacon*, *brokn* *broken*, *dokn* *dock*, *drukn* *drunk*, *drunken*, *rekn* *to reckon*, *spokn* *spoken*, *sukn* *sunk*, *tuekn* *token*, *ugn* *hip*, *wegn* *wagon*, *wokn* *to waken*.

Svarabhakti.

§ 248. A vowel has been developed between *l*, *r*, and *a* following consonant in: *galek* (O. Fr. *gale*) *left hand*, *sterek* (OE. *stirc*, also *styric*) *heifer*, *tšerep* (ME. *chirpen*) *to chirp*.

Weak Forms and Particles.

§ 249. The following is a fairly complete list, arranged alphabetically, of words which have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Any other unaccented forms not given here will be found under the headings of pronouns, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions.

The auxiliary verb *diu* is never used in asking questions, except when it begins the sentence: *dije* (dɛjə) *pink il* (əl) *diut?* *do you think he will do it?* but *wilə diut*, *pink jə?* *will he do it, do you think?* The auxiliary verb *have* (əv, e; əv, ə) is often omitted entirely, or perhaps rather has disappeared through assimilation; thus *a dunt* *I have done it*, *we funt* *we have found it*; here *fun* is the pp. and not the pret., *we found it* is *we fant*.

a = *I*. Chiefly used in direct assertions: *a fan əm I* *found them*.

abed *yes but*: **ābed ōa men ger up suin yes but thou must get up soon.**

am, aim, im *I am.* **aim, am** are used in principal and **im** in subordinate sentences: **aim or am nuen bān tē stop hie(r)** *I am not going to stop here.* **if im wīl inif** *if I am well enough.*

bi=1. **be: wīl ōe bi wī em?** *will they be with them?*

=2. **by: bi nā by now.**

bin *been.*

bed *but.*

—**d**=1. **had: ōed they had, ad** *I had.*

=2. **would, wouldst: ōad e tē diut thou wouldst have to do it.**

de, di do: deje or dije pīnk el kum? *do you think he will come?*

duz, dus (voiceless before the **t**) *does, dost*: **pa duz thou dost, but dus tē?** *dost thou?*

e, ev *have*: **wis et we shall have it, but wis ev em** *we shall have them.*

ez, es *hast, has*: **cp. duz, dus.**

e=1. **a: e boni bān** *a pretty child.*

=2. **he** (in subordinate sentences and interrogatively, in other cases it is **ī**).

=3. **her** (before consonants): **e faōe(r)** *her father.*

=4. **have** (weakest form): **ast e dunt if id ed e tšons** *I should have done it, if I had had a chance.*

=5. **on**: **e ōi rig** *on thy back.*

=6. **of** (may be used before a vowel or a consonant, **ev** only before vowels):

e pund e or ev aplz *a pound of apples.*

NOTE.—Through **e** being also the unaccented form of **on**, it often happens that **on** is used where we should expect **ev**, as **toef on em** *the half of them.*

ed = 1. *had*.

= 2. *would*: it ed or ted tak e lot it would take a lot.
em or rather m (vocalic) them: sam em up pick them up.
en an: en apl an apple.

en or rather n (vocalic) =

1. *and*: Doed en Eels George and Alice.

2. *one*: it wer e guid en it was a good one.

e(r) = 1. *or*.

= 2. *are*.

et = 1. *at*. et uem at home.

= 2. *that* (cj.): a sī et im rer I see that I am wrong.

= 3. *who, whom* (rel.): im et sed sue he who said so,
Ńem et we soe dān trued those whom we saw
down the road.

ev = 1. *have* (weakest form before vowels): Ńe med ev ed
it bi nā they might have had it by now.

= 2. *of* (before vowels): toef ev e keek the half of a
tea-cake.

ez = 1. *us*: giv ez e tūpri give us a few (lit. two or three).

= 2. *he has*: wen ez wešt isen when he has washed
himself.

= 3. *he is*: wol ez bān until he is going.

= 4. *as*.

fe(r) *for*.

fre *from*.

i = 1. *in*: i tās in the house.

= 2. *I* (in subordinate and interrogative sentences,
see a): sali et? shall I have it? if i ger it if I
get it.

= 3. *he* (in direct assertions): i sez he says.

into *into*.

iz *his*, but *is* before voiceless sounds: a mer iz muče(r)

I met his mother, but is fače(r) his father.

jə=1. *ye, you.*

=2. *your* (before consonants).

=3. *you are* (before consonants) **jə bān, ājə?** *you are going, are you?*

jet=1. *yet.*

=2. *you it*: **al sel jet** *I will sell you it.*

kəd *could.*

kr (vocalic **ɹ**) *can*: **ʃa kr sē wot tē laiks** *thou canst say what thou likest.*

l *will*: **al Iʌ, wil** *we will, etc.*

mē=1. *me* **gi(v) mē e feu** *give me a few.*

=2. *may*: **amē wēk wol i drop fer out ta keez**
I may work until I drop for anything thou carest.

məd *might.*

mēn or rather **mn** (with vocalic **n**)

=1. *must*: **a mēn gue** *I must go.*

=2. *man*: **diu it, mēn** *do it, man.*

mi *my.*

nē(r)=1. *nor.*

=2. *than* (after a comparative).

net, nt (the form **net** is seldom used. The usual form is **nt**) *not.*

s us (after voiceless consonant): **lets ev em** *let us have them.*

s, sl: **ʃasl, ʃas et** *thou shalt have it.*

sānt *shall not.*

sant *saint* (before proper names).

sə *so.*

sed, st *should, shouldst*: **ʃa sed or ʃast e dunt** *thou shouldst have done it.*

še *she* (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases **šŭ**).

t=1. *the* : tman *the man*.

=2. *it* : len met *lend me it*.

=3. *art* : ŕat e fuil *thou art a fool*.

ta, te *thou* (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases ŕã).

te, tev (before vowels) *to*.

ðe *there* : ðez *there is, there has, there are*.

ðe=1. *thee* : a spak te ðe *I spoke to thee*.

=2. *they* : mun ðe stop? *must they stop?*

=3. *they (are)* : ðe nuen se ritš *they are not so rich*.

=4. *they (have)* : wen ðe funt *when they have found it*.

=5. *their* (before consonants).

ði *thy*.

v *have* : wiv sînt *we have seen it*.

wa *why*. The unaccented form of wai, cp. a beside ai I, wol beside wail *while, until*. It is always used when speaking in an encouraging manner to a person : wa lad, ŕa men trai *why lad, thou must try*.

we=1. *we* : sal we gue? *shall we go?*

=2. *our* (before consonants) we faðe buits *our father's boots, but we soe wer ont we saw our aunt*.

=3. *we (are)* : we bân te d'len *we are going to the Glen*.

=4. *was, were* : a we liukin foje *I was looking for you*. wed *would*.

wi=1. *with*.

=2. *we* (in direct assertions).

=3. *wilt* : wite wilt *thou*.

wol *until*, unaccented form of wail (noun) *while*.

z=1. *is* : iz he *is*.

=2. *has, hast* : ŕaz thou hast, iz he has.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSONANTS.

The Semi-vowels.

W.

a. Initially.

§ 250. OE. initial **w** has remained before vowels: **waip** to wipe, **weed** to wade, **wee(r)** to spend money, **wāk** work, **wiðe(r)** to hurl, throw, **woef** insipid, **wote(r)** water.

It also appears as **w** in words of Norse origin: **weeve(r)** to waver, **winde** window, **wik** quick, alive, **wīn** wing, **wont** want.

In words of French origin we have **w** in some words and **v** in others, just as in the lit. language: **warend** to warrant, **weedž** wage, **weet** to wait, **walep** to beat, flog, **vari** very, **viel** veal, **vois** voice, **voiðe(r)** a large clothes' basket.

It has disappeared in the combination **wr**: **rait** to write, **ren** wrong. Examples for **wl-** are wanting.

It has also generally remained in the OE. combinations **hw**, **dw**, **pw**, **tw**, **sw**, as **wot** what, **wīl** wheel, **dwinl** to dwindle, **dwāf** dwarf, **witl** (ME. **pwitel**) large carving knife, **wer** (OE. **pwang**) thong, **wak** to beat, flog, **twais** twice, **twot** pudendum fem., **swiet** to sweat, **sweep** the handle of a machine.

kw mostly occurs in French words: **kweet** *quart*, **kwari** *quarry*, **kwaleti** *quality*.

Initial **w** has disappeared in the weak forms of **wil** *will*, **wod** *would*, as **al gue** *I will go*, **id diut**, if **e kud** *he would do it*, if *he could*.

w has also disappeared in: **kil** *to kill*, **kud** *cud*, **sued** *sword*, **sitš** *such*, **sump** *a puddle or dirty pool of water*. **tū** *two*, **ue** *who*.

b. Medially.

Medial **w** + final vowel have become **e** after consonants: **swole** (OE. *swalwe*) *swallow*, **spare** (OE. *spearwa*) *sparrow*, **jare** *yarrow*, **wide** (OE. *widwe*) *widow*, *widower*.

aw > **oe**: **tloe** (OE. *clawu*) *claw*, § 63.

āw > **oe**: **bloe** *to blow*, **noe** *to know*, **sloe** *slow*, **snoe** *snow*, § 123.

eow, **ew** > **eu**: **eu** (OE. *eowu*) *ewe*, **streu** (OE. *strewian*) *to strew*, § 85.

ēaw > **eu**: **deu** (OE. *dēaw*) *dew*, **feu** *few*, **eu** (OE. *hēawan*) *to hew*, § 180.

ēow > **iu**, **eu**: **triu** *true*, **riu** *to rue*, **briu** *to brew* **eu** *yew*, **seu** *to sew*, § 190.

īw > **iu**: **spiu** *to spew*, § 159.

ōw > **ou**: **dlou** *to glow*, **grou** *to grow*, **flou** *to flow*, § 166.

§ 251. **w** has disappeared in words compounded with *ward*: **bakedz** *backwards*, **fored** *forward*, **oeked** *awkward*, **tādz** *towards*, § 243; as also in those compounded with *worth*: **oepep** *halfpenny worth*, **penep** *pennyworth*, **siks-penep** *sixpenny worth*, etc.

It has also disappeared in: **midif** *midwife*, **oles** *always*, **sumet** (*et* may here however be the rel. pr.) *something*, *anything*, **anse(r)** *answer*, **grunsil** *groundsel*.

j.

§ 252. OE. initial *j*, mostly written *g*, has had the same development as in lit. Engl.: *jī, je ye, you, jie(r) year, jon yon, juek yoke, jun young*.

§ 253. French *ü*, which has become *juw* in lit. Engl., appears in the W. dial. as a falling diphthong initially, medially, and finally: *ius use, iuneti unity, flute(r) future, viu view*, § 237.

The Liquids.

l.

§ 254. *l* has generally remained unchanged: *lap to wrap up, lat late, lig to lie down, loin lane, lium loom*.

boeld (ME. *ballad*) *bald, molt malt, fild field, mild mild, wild wild, bīld to build, flik flitch of bacon, jole yellow, tselte(r) to clot, coagulate (of blood), twilt quilt, nozl to beat, thrash, blob bubble, galesez braces*.

džoul to knock, strike, kāl to frown, foel to fall, koil coal, teal tale, swiel to gutter (of a candle).

§ 255. *al* has become *oe* in the combinations *lf*, OE. *lh, lk, lm, ll, lv*. For examples see §§ 62, 198. To these add: *omest almost, oeminak almanac, oemend almond*.

al has become *ou* before a following *d*. For examples see §§ 64, 199.

ol has become *ou* before a following consonant. For examples see §§ 103, 220.

§ 256. *l* has also disappeared before a following consonant in: *witš* (OE. *hwelc*) *which, sitš* (OE. *swelc*) *such, būk bulk, stūp* (ME. *stolpe*) *a post*.

It has also disappeared in: *wod, wed, -d* (§ 397) *would*,

sud, sed, st (§ 391) *should*, sânt *shall not*, s (§ 391) *shall*, wite ? (§ 397) *wilt thou?* wient *will not*.

In fout (ME. faute, Fr. faute) *fault*, mât (cp. Lat. mūtāre) *to moult*, there probably never was an l in the dialect forms.

§ 257. Consonantal l, when it came to stand finally, has become vocalic after consonants: *adl to earn*, *kitl to tickle*, *nibl to nibble*, *ridl sieve*, *satl to settle*. For further examples see § 247 b.

r.

§ 258. r, which is a gently (not strongly as in Scotch) trilled sound, has only remained intact before a following vowel:

raiv to tear, *reit right*, *ram to thrust*, *press*, *rizd rancid* (of bacon), *brin to bring*, *brek to break*, *beri to bury*, *ferē furrow*, *sore sorrow*, *sare to serve*, *vari very*.

r has probably been lost in *aim* (OE. hrīm ?) *hoarfrost*.

§ 259. Before a following consonant it has entirely disappeared: *bān* (§ 61) *child*, *bied* (§ 68) *beard*, *wāk* (§ 74) *work*, *bēk* (§ 90) *birch*, *boen* (§ 104, 1) *born*, *bued* (§ 104, 2) *board*, *dēst* (§ 113, 1) *durst*, *bōp* (§ 120, 1) *birth*, *aiēn* (§ 157) *iron*, *dālin* (§ 189) *darling*, *kweet* (§ 203) *quart*, *sāvnt* (§ 207) *servant*, *oēðe(r)* (§ 223) *order*, *kēn* (§ 228) *currant*, *faðe(r)* *father*, pl. *faðez*, *swie(r)* *to swear*, but *i swiez* *he swears*.

NOTE.—The above list contains one example only of the various vowels which have been influenced through the absorption of the r; for full lists of examples, see the paragraphs enclosed in parentheses.

§ 260. r, which has come to stand finally in the modern dialect, is still slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when

the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. *fear*, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. *far*. We thus make a distinction between *pee pay*, and-*pee(r) pair*, *kā cow*, and *kāe(r) to cower*.

r disappears, of course, altogether in the sentence when the next word begins with a consonant: *aje bān ? are you going ? wi we leekin we were playing*.

Examples of final *r* are: *wāe(r) worse*, *dlue(r) to stare hard*, *smuə(r) to smother*, *bie(r) to bear*, *pie(r) pear*.

§ 261. In addition to the examples in which *r* has undergone metathesis in the lit. language as, *bēd bird*, *bōn to burn*, *brīt bright*, *frīt fright*, *oes horse*, *pēd third*, we have *brust to burst*, *gēn to grin*, *gēs* (also OE. *gærs*) *grass*, *gēsl gristle*, *gēt great*, *kēsmes Christmas*, *kēsn to christen*.

§ 262. *r* has disappeared in *pim-ruez primrose*.

The Nasals.

m.

§ 263. *m* has generally remained unchanged: *muml to mumble*, *muin moon*, *mistl cow-house*, *mizl to drizzle (of rain)*, *mun must*, *mūd crowded, crammed*.

gami lame, *kākume(r) cucumber*, *niml nimble*, *trēml to tremble*, *tšeeme(r) chamber*, *tuml to tumble*, *uml humble*.

brim to put the boar to the sow, *gam to gamble*, *krum crumb*, *rām room*, *sam up to pick up*.

§ 264. *m* has become vocalic after consonants: *bodm bottom*, *fadm fathom*, *film film*, *kindm kingdom*. *m* is also vocalic in *em (=m) them*.

n.

§ 265. Initial **n** has remained unchanged: **nate(r)** to *gnaw, nibble*, **nati** *neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people)*, **navi** *canal*, **nīt** *night*, **nie(r)** *kidney*, **noilz** (pl.) *the short hairs taken out of wool by the combing machine*.

§ 266. When **n** has remained medial in the W. dial., it has generally undergone no change: **dwinl** to *dwindle*, **kanl** *candle*, **sind** to *rinse, wash out*, **spinl** *spindle*, **pune(r)** *thunder*.

§ 267. Medial **n** has disappeared before **s** in unaccented syllables without compensation lengthening: **estied** *instead*, **Robisn** *Robinson*, **Adkisn** *Atkinson*.

§ 268. **n** has remained when it has come to stand finally after vowels or was already final in OE.: **ain** (ME. **hīne**) *hind*, **bin** (OE. **binnan**) *within*, **bleen** *blain, boil*, **gruin** *a pig's snout*, **don** to *put on one's clothes*, **len** (OE. **lēnan**) to *lend*, **nuin** *noon*, **olin** *holly*, **speen** (OE. **spanan**) to *wean*.

§ 269. **n** has become vocalic after dentals and sibilants: **eenšn** *ancient*, **fešn** *fashion*, **fezn** *pheasant*, **frozn** *frozen*, **miln** (OE. **myln**) *mill*, **ratn** (O. Fr. **raton**) *rat*, **seldn** (OE. **seldon**) *seldom*. For other examples see § 247 b.

§ 270. **n** has become vocalic **m** after labials by assimilation:

apm (lit. *happen*) *perhaps*, **flpms** *fivepence*, **prepms** *three pence*, etc., **opm** *open*, **wiepm** *weapon*. For further examples see § 247 b.

evm *even*, **imin** *evening*, **sevm** *seven*, **uvm** *oven*, **wovm** *woven*.

§ 271. **n** has become vocalic **ɹ** after gutturals:
beegn *bargain*, **ugn** *hip*, **wegn** *wagon*.

brokn *broken*, **buekn** (ME. **bolkin**) *to retch, belch*, **kn** (weak form of **kan** *can*, **akn** *diut I can do it*), **spokn** *spoken*, **stākkn** *to stiffen*, **wokn** *to waken*.

§ 272. **n** generally disappears in **ə** *on*, **i** *in*. It has also disappeared in **oepəp** *halfpenny worth*. It has also disappeared by assimilation in **amet** *am not*.

n.

§ 273. The guttural **n**, written **n** in OE., only occurred before the gutturals **g** and **c**.

It has generally remained in accented syllables in the W. dialect: **bin** (O. Icel. **bingr** *heap*) *bin*, **brin** *to bring*, **drink** *to drink*, **in** (ME. **hengen**) *to hang*, **lin** (O. Icel. **lyng**) *heather*, **tenz** *tongs*, **pin** *thing*, **pink** *to think*, **wen** *thong*.

fine(r) *finger*, never **finge(r)** as in lit. Engl., **inliš** *English*, **minl** *to mingle*, **unə(r)** *hunger*, **sirl** *single*.

NOTE.—**kindm** (OE. **cynedōm**) but lit. Engl. *kingdom*, through association with *king*.

§ 274. **n** has disappeared through assimilation before the following **kn** in the pp. of verbs ending in **nk**: **drukn** *drunk*, *drunken*, **sukn** *sunk*, **slukn** *slunk*, **šrukkn** *shrunk*. But see § 368.

§ 275. **n** has become **n** before the following dental in: **lenp** *length*, **strenp** *strength*.

§ 276. **n** has regularly become **n** in unaccented syllables: **fādin** *farthing*, **gezlin** *gosling*, **imin** *evening*, **iezinz** *the eaves of a building*, **midin** (ME. **midding**) *dunghill*, **runin** *running*, and similarly in all present participles.

§ 277. Palatal **n**, written **n** in OE., only occurred before the palatal forms of **g** and **c**.

In the W. dial. it has become dental **n** as in lit. Engl.: **drenš** (OE. *drencan*) to *drench*, **sinž** (OE. *sengan*) to *singe*.

'The Labials.

p.

§ 278. **p** has remained in all positions:

pei *pea*, **pimruēz** *primrose*, **piek** *perch*, **pāk** a kind of *blain*, **poem** *palm*, **poez** (O. Fr. *poulser*) to *kick*, **poutri** *poultry*, **prog** to *collect wood for the bonfire on the fifth of November*, **preet** to *prate, babble*, **put** to *put*.

lopsta(r) (OE. *loppestre*) *lobster*, **speed** *spade*, **speen** to *wean*.

dolep *lump of dirt*, **draip** to *drip*, **elp** to *help*, **filep** to *beat, flog*, **kep** to *catch (a ball)*, **kraps** the renderings of *lard*, **lop** *flea*, **noep** (ME. *nolpen*) to *hit on the head*.

§ 279. Assimilation has taken place as in lit. Engl. in **emti** (ME. *empti*, but OE. *āmet(t)ig*) *empty*, **kubed** *cupboard*.

b.

§ 280. The voiced explosive **b** has generally remained in the W. dialect:

bān *child*, **bef** (ME. *beffin*) to *cough*, **bek** *beck*, **ber** (O. Icel. *banga* to *hammer*), to *throw, hit violently*, **bid** to *invite to a funeral*, **boged** *ghost*, **brig** *bridge*, **bun** *bound*.

bleb *blister*, **bluðe(r)** to *weep*, generally used in the phrase **te bluðe(r) en rue(r)** lit. to *blubber and roar*, **gab** (cp. O. N. *gabba*) *impudence*, **kubed** *cupboard*, **neb** *beak*, **nub** to *nudge*, **nuebdi** *nobody*, **web** *web*.

§ 281. **b** has disappeared after *m*: **kuem** *comb*, **lam** *lamb*, **tlim** to *climb*, **wuem** *womb*. Also in **sumdi** *somebody*.

§ 282. **b** never occurs between **m—l** or **m—r**, as in lit. Engl.: *eseml* to *assemble*, *fuml* to *fumble*, *muml* to *mumble*, *niml* *nimble*, *raml* to *ramble*, *treml* to *tremble*, *tuml* to *tumble*, *þiml* *thimble*, *uml* *humble*.

kākumə(r) *cucumber*, *numə(r)* *number*, *slumə(r)* *slumber*, *tšeemə(r)* *chamber*.

f.

§ 283. OE. **f** was used to represent both the voiceless (= Mod. Engl. **f**) and the voiced (= Mod. Engl. **v**) spirant.

1. Initially it was voiceless and corresponds to Germanic **f**.

2. Medially it was voiced, except in the combinations **ff**, **fs**. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 192.

3. Finally it was probably voiceless in the historic period even when it corresponded to Germanic **ḥ**. But when OE. **f** came to stand medially through being followed by a case, or personal ending, etc., it was voiced, thus *wif* *wife*, gen. *wifes*, pret. sing. *geaf* *I, he gave*, pl. *gēafon*. In this case the W. dial., like lit. Engl., has sometimes generalized the one form, sometimes the other. We shall here treat the sounds in the above order.

1. *faðe(r)* *father*, *feu* *few*, *flee* to *frighten*, *flumeks* to *confound*, *cheat*, *foil* *foal*, *foud* *fold*, *fouk* *folk*, *fout* *fault*, *freem* to *make a start*, *fudl* to *confuse*, *fuzi* *soft*, *spongy*.

2. *eft* *haft*, *gift* *gift*, *rift* to *belch*, *eructate*, *sift* to *sift*, *weft* *weft*, *kuf* *cuff*.

delv to *delve*, *daiv* to *dive*, *draiv* to *drive*, *duv* *dove*, *evm* *heaven*, *ive(r)* *ever*, *kāv* to *carve*, *kuəv* *cove*, *live(r)* *liver*, *neiv* (O. Icel. *knefi*) *fist*, *nive(r)* *never*, *raiv* (O. Icel. *rifa* to *break*) to *tear*, *siv* *sieve*, *stāv* to *starve*, *stuəv* *stove*, *šeəv* to *shave*, *šuv* to *shove*, *praiv* to *thrive*, *weiv* to *weave*.

ev, ev, e have, and *liv to live* are, of course, not directly developed from OE. *habban*, *libban* but from the forms without gemination, as *hafað he has*, *hæfde he had*, *liofað he lives*, *lifde he lived*.

It has disappeared as in lit. Engl. in such words as: *ez hast, has*, *elte(r)* (OE. *healfter*) *halter*, *enent* *opposite*, *ied head*, *kroel to crawl*, *oek hawk*, *leedi lady*, *loed lord*, *wimin women*, *wumen woman*.

It has also disappeared in: *ebūn above*, *imin evening*, *steim* (ME. *stefnen*, OE. *ge-stefnian* and *a-stemnian to give voice for, appoint*) *to bespeak a thing*, *šul shovel*, *gīn given*, *oue(r)* beside *ove(r)* *over*, *niē(r)* beside *nive(r)* *never*, and generally also in the present *gi*, pret. *ga* and *e*, *e have*, when the next word begins with a consonant.

The voiced spirant has become *b* in *rebit rivet*, if the dial. word is etymologically the same as the lit. Engl. word.

3. *delf stone quarry*, *kaf chaff*, *oef half*, *ruif roof*, *tōf turf*, *þif thief*, *uif hoof*, *waif wife*.

aiv hive, *faiv five*, *greov grave*, *twelv twelve*.

f has disappeared in: *oepni halfpenny*, *e of*, *sel, sen self*.

§ 284. *te to* appears as *tēv* when the next word begins with a vowel: *tēv e man to a man*.

The Dentals.

t.

§ 285. Initial *t* has remained: *taid feast-time*, *teem tame*, *temz* (ME. *temse*) *hop-sieve*, *teu* (OE. *tēawian*) *to work zealously*, *toe a marble of any kind*, *toidi small*, *little*, *trolep a dirty, untidy person*, *tul* (O. Icel. *til*) *to*.

§ 286. Medial *t* has mostly remained unchanged:

antm (OE. *antefn*) *anthem*, **getn** *got*, **nati** *neat*, *tidy*, *dexterous* (of old people), **ratn** *rat*, **tlustē(r)** *cluster*.

It has become **d** in **bodm** *bottom*, **praid** *pride*. It has become **r** in **porests** *potatoes*, has undergone metathesis in **witek** *wicket*, and disappeared before the **b** in **nobed** (lit. *not but*) *only*.

§ 287. **t** is dropped between **s** and a following **l** or **n** in :

busl *bustle*, **bruslz** *bristles*, **gēsl** *gristle*, **kasl** *castle*, **rasl** *to wrestle*, **prosl** *thrush*, **wisl** *whistle*, **dēsnt** *durst not*; but **mistl** (O. Icel. *mjalta-sel* *shed for milking*) *cow-house*.

brusn (pp.) *burst*, **fasn** *to fasten*, **lisn** *to listen*, **oue-kesn** *overcast*, *gloomy* (of the sky), **brusn** (pp.) *thrust*.

ts > **ss** > **s** in **wisnde** *Whitsuntide*. *Whitsunday* is **wisnde** *sunde*.

§ 288. The **t** in French words which has become **tš** in lit. Engl. through the influence of the following **ü** has remained in the W. dialect :

fiete(r) *feature*, **fēnite(r)** *furniture*, **flute(r)** *future*, **foetn** *fortune*, **kriete(r)** *creature*, **moiste(r)** *moisture*, **neete(r)** *nature*, **natrel** *natural*, **paste(r)** *pasture*, **pikte(r)** *picture*, **vente(r)** *to venture*.

§ 289. When **t** came to stand finally in the W. dial., or was final already in OE., it has generally remained :

fiſt (OE. *fifta*) *fifth*, **sikst** *sixth*, **toist** *toast*, **twelſt** *twelfth*.

bāt *without*, **feit** *to fight*, **gēt** *great*, **goit** (ME. *gote*) *water channel*, **mīt** *to meet*, **out holt**, **slāt** *to bedabble*, **suit** *soot*.

bit *bit*, **fat** *fat*, **it** *it*, **kot** *staples of wool tightly entangled together*, **lat** (OE. *lætt*) *lath*, **lat** *late*, **mat** *mat*, **net** *net*, **wet** *wet*.

§ 290. The **t** in all verbal forms ending in **t** preceded by a short vowel, appears as **r** when the next word begins with a vowel. We regularly say : **amīt** *im ivri deē* *I meet*

him every day; but *amer im ivri dee I met him every day*. Similarly with *get me wun get me one*, *ger up get up*, *gar got*, *ir to hit*, *ler to let*, *pur to put*, *sar sat*, *ser to set*, *sir to sit*, *šur to shut*, etc. Also in all the present participles, as *gerin getting*.

NOTE.—This phenomenon is widely spread in Mod. English dialects. See EEP^r. vol. v. p. 420.

The same is also the case with the pronoun *wot what*: *wotste dun? what hast thou done?* but *wor iz it? what is it?*

§ 291. *t* has become *d* in: *abed yes but*, *bəd but*, *prād proud*, *buzəd* (O. Fr. *busart*), *butterfly*, *Adkisin Atkinson*, *warend to warrant*.

§ 292. It has been dropped in *kēn currant*, *sādžn sergeant*, *džais* (O. Fr. *giste*) *joist*. The older generation also say *omes almost*, *āvis harvest*, *bies* (lit. *beast*) *cow*, *cows*.

§ 293. A *t* is never pronounced in *eēnšn* (Fr. *ancien*) *ancient*, *fezn* (O. Fr. *faisan*) *pheasant*, *tairēn tyrant*.

§ 294. *t* is excrescent in *vāment vermin*.

d.

§ 295. Initial *d* has remained: *daiv to dive*, *deu dew*, *dī to die*, *died dead*, *dof to undress*, *don to dress*, *dreet to drawl*.

§ 296. Medial *d* has also generally remained unchanged:

fīdl fiddle, *īnde(r) to hinder*, *midin* (ME. *midding*, Dan. *mögdyngē*) *dunghill*, *midl middle*, *nīdl needle*, *ridn riden*, *wide widow*, *sadl saddle*, *redi ready*.

§ 297. Intervocalic *d* followed by *r* in the next syllable

has become *ð*: *bleðe(r)* *bladder*, *bluðe(r)* *to cry, weep*, *diðe(r)* (ME. *diderin*) *to shiver*, *faðe(r)* *father*, *foðe(r)* *fodder*, *geðe(r)* *to gather*, *te-geðe(r)* *together*, *iðe(r)* *hither*, *konsiðe(r)* *to consider*, *laðe(r)* *ladder*, *moiðe(r)* *to ponder, be anxious about a thing*, *muðe(r)* *mother*, *pāðe(r)* *powder*, *šuðe(r)* *to shudder*, *tluðe(r)* *to get closely together*, *uðe(r)* *udder*, *voiðe(r)* (O. Fr. *volder* *to void*) *a large clothes' basket*, *weðe(r)* *weather*.

NOTE.—The words *thither* and *whither* are not used in the dialect.

The law also holds good when an *l* or *r* has disappeared before the *d*: *soðe(r)* *solder*, *mēðe(r)* *murder*, *oeðe(r)* *to order*.

NOTE.—The *ð* in *mēðe(r)* is probably not the *p* in OE. *myrpran*, but *rp* became *rd* (§ 306, 2) and then *ð* by the above law.

§ 298. *d* never occurs between *n*—*l*, *n*—*r*, as in lit. English:

anl handle, *dwinl to dwindle*, *kanl candle*, *kinlin fire-wood*, *spinl spindle*.

gane(r) gander, *pune(r) thunder*.

§ 299. *d* has disappeared in *ansem handsome*, *anfl handful*, *grunsil groundsel*, *gran-faðe(r)*, *gram-faðe(r)* *grandfather*, *lanloed landlord*, *unded hundred*, but *undet* (by assimilation of *dt*) *hundredth*.

§ 300. OE. final *d* and the medial *d* which has come to stand finally in the W. dial. have generally remained: *bid to invite to a funeral*, *find to find*, *grund ground*, *od to hold*, *oud old*, *pund pound*, *roid a clearing (of a wood)*, *sind to rinse, wash out*, *wund a wound*, *blier-īd bleary-eyed*.

§ 301. *d* has disappeared after *n* in: *bran* (OE. *brand*) *niu quite new*, *en and*, *pāzn thousand*, *uzbn husband*.

and also in the pret. and pp. of the verbs *bind to bind*, *find to find*, *wind to wind*, thus: *ban*, *bun*; *fan*, *fun*; *wan*, *wun*.

d has also been dropped in *skafl scaffold*, *skaflin scaffolding*.

§ 302. Final *ndz* has become *nz*: *anz hands*, *frenz friends*, *senz sends*, *grunz* (lit. *grounds*) *sediment*. *pāzn* and *uzbn* may accordingly be new formations from the plural forms.

§ 303. A *d* is never pronounced in *ain* (ME. *hīne*) *hind*, *bān* (O. Icel. *būenn*) *going*, as *wie tē bān?* *where art thou going?*, *len* (OE. *lānan*) *to lend*.

§ 304. *d* is excrescent in *arend* (ME. *aranie*, O. Fr. *araigne*) *spider*, *drānd* *to drown*.

§ 305. *d* has become *t* in *wāte* (lit. *work-day*), *week-day*, *wēsit worsted*, *st* the weak form of *sud should*. In *bē-int behind*, the *t* is probably due to the *t* in *frunt front*; for similar examples see Paul-Braune's *Beiträge*, xiii, p. 590. In the phrase *iust tē wod* or *wed to be wont* or *willing*, the *t* is due to assimilation with *tē*: *ða iust tē wed diu e bit e wāk* *thou wast formerly wont to do a bit of work*.

p.

§ 306. OE. *p*, also written *ƿ*, was a voiceless spirant like the *th* in lit. Engl. *thin*, initially, finally as also medially except probably between voiced sounds. Between voiced sounds it was probably voiced like the *th* in lit. Engl. *breathe*. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 201.

We shall here adopt the following order: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound or its further development has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When it has become final in

the W. dialect. In this case two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced sound. Cp. § 283, 3.

Fifty years ago **f** for **p** and **v** for **ð** were quite general throughout the Township of Idle, but they have now practically disappeared except as an individualism. When I was a boy **p** and **ð** were regularly used among the younger Windhill people, but **f** and **v** were still generally used in Thackley and Idle, which are only about a mile distant from W. I well remember how we used to twit the Thackley and Idle people about their pronunciation of these sounds: **faklɔ** *Thackley*, **fɪnk** *think*, **fəð** *third*, **leev barn**, **smivi** *smithy*, etc.

1. **p** has remained voiceless except in pronouns and the adverbs derived from them:

pak *thatch*, **pink** *to think*, **poil** *to give ungrudgingly*, **praiv** *to thrive*, **priep** (OE. *prēapian* *to rebuke*) *to contradict*, *dispute*.

In the pronouns and the adverbs derived from them there originally existed double forms: the stressed forms with **p** and the unstressed forms with **ð**. The W. dial., like lit. Engl., has generalised the latter, which are now used both as the stressed and unstressed forms. See the Chapter on the pronouns:

ðā *thou*, **ði** *thy*, **ðat** (only as demonstrative, the rel. pr. and cj. is **et** which is of Norse origin) *that*, **ðem** (mostly as demonstrative, the pers. pr. is **em**) *those*, **ðis** *this*, etc.; **ðie(r)** *there*, **ðen** *then*, etc.

The def. art. is generally **t** and is attached to the following word, thus **tman** *the man*, **toudn** *the old one*, **tkoilz** *the coals*. We make a clear distinction between **teəbl** *table* and **t'teəbl** *the table*, **eit** *eight* and **eit'** *eighth*, the former is the ordinary Engl. **t** and the latter is a suspended **t**. **ð** has

become **t** in the nom. of the second pers. sing. of the pers. pronoun when used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences (§ 350): **es-te** ? *hast thou?* **sal-te** ? *shalt thou?* **wi-te** ? *wilt thou?* **kante diut** ? *canst thou do it?* **pa kn gue wen tet redi** *thou canst go when thou art ready.*

p has disappeared before **w** in: **wak** *to beat severely*, see Skeat, Et. Dict., **witl** (ME. **pwitel**) *large carving knife*, **wen** (OE. **pwang**) *thong*.

Occasionally the **p** is omitted in the pres. tense of **pink**, as a **ink** *I think*.

2. Between vowels we have **ð**: **feðe(r)** *feather*, **laðe(r)** *foam, froth*, **leðe(r)** *leather*, **reeðe(r)** *rather*, **smiði** *smithy*, **weðe(r)** (OE. **weðer**) *the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before*.

It has become **d** medially after **r** in: **bēdn** *burden*, **fādin** *farthing*, **efued** *to afford*.

It has also become **d** in: **fadm** *fathom*, **snodn** *to make smooth*, **snod** (O. Icel. **snoðenn** *smooth (of hair)*, *bald*) *smooth, even*.

ð has disappeared in **moæk** (O. Icel. **maðkr**) *maggot*, and **besk** (O. Icel. **baðask**) *to bask*.

3. **baþ** *bath*, **dieþ** *death*, **froþ** *froth*, **gēþ** *girth*, **ielp** *health*, **paþ** *path*, **smip** *smith*, **swāþ** (O. Icel. **swörðr**) *the skin of bacon*, **wēþ** *worth*.

brieð *to breathe*, **buið** *booth*, **leeð** (O. Icel. **hlaða**) *barn*, **saið** *scythe*, **smuið** *smooth*.

§ 307. It has disappeared before the **s**, **z** in **muns** *months*, **tluez** *clothes*. And also in **wi** *with*.

§ 308. The **d** in **beed** *to bathe* has probably been influenced by **weed** *to wade*.

§ 309. The ordinal numerals, except **seknd** *second*, **pēd** *third*, all end in **t**. Regular forms are **fēst** (OE. **fyresta**),

first, *fift* (OE. *fīfta*) *fifth*, *sikst* (OE. *siexta*) *sixth*, *twelft* (OE. *twelfta*) *twelfth*, after the analogy of which have been formed *fouet* (OE. *fēowerða*) *fourth*, *naint ninth*, *tent tenth*, etc.

Sibilants.

S.

§ 310. Initially and finally as also medially (except between voiced sounds) OE. *s* was a voiceless spirant like the *s* in Mod. English *sin*. Medially between voiced sounds it was possibly voiced like the *s* in Mod. English *rise*. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 204.

The development of *s* in the W. dialect is parallel with that of *f* (§ 283) and *p* (§ 306), so that we shall here distinguish the three positions: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When the sound was already final in OE. or has become final in the W. dialect. Here two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced spirant. Cp. § 283.

1. Initial *s* has remained both before vowels and consonants: *sā a drain*, *sough*, *sāk to suck*, *sam up to pick up*, *seem lard*, *set to set*, *sī* (OE. *sēon* = OHG. *sīhan*) *to stretch*, *sin since*, *sind to rinse*, *wash out*, *slate(r) to spill*, *smuið smooth*, *snod smooth*, *even*, *snikit a small passage*, *speik to speak*, *spitek spigot*, *steim to bespeak*, *stedi steady*, *strie straw*, *swāp the skin of bacon*, *sweep the handle of a machine*.

s (?) has become *š* in *šū*, *še she*.

s has also remained before *ü* in French words, whereas in the lit. language it has become *š*: *siuge(r) sugar*, *siue(r) sure*.

2. Medially between voiced sounds we have **z**: **bīzm** *besom*, **bīznes** *business*, **buzed** *butterfly*, **dlazn** *to glaze*, **fezn** *pheasant*, **frozn** *frozen*, **fuzi** *soft, spongy*, **mizl** *to drizzle (of rain)*, **rizd** *rancid (of bacon)*, **rīzn** *risen*, **pāzn** *thousand*, **uzbn** *husband*, **wīzn** *to wither*.

z has also remained before **ü** in French words, but has become **ž** in the lit. language: **mežə(r)** *measure*, **pležə(r)** *pleasure*, **trežə(r)** *treasure*.

The **ž** in **sižez** *scissors* is difficult to explain. It is just possible that it may have been influenced by **saiž** *scythe*, just as **mud** *might* (verb) has probably been influenced by **kud** *could*, **sud** *should*, and **be-int** *behind* by **frunt** *front*, and **beəd** *to bathe* by **weəd** *to wade*.

In combination with voiceless sounds **s** has been retained: **besk** *to bask*, **blosm** *blossom*, **fasn** *to fasten*, **kist** *a chest*, **kōsn** *to christen*, **musl** *muscle*, **rasl** *to wrestle*, **rust** (O.Icel. **röst**) *rest, repose*, **trāst** *to trust*, **prosl** (OE. **prostle**) *thrush*.

3. **ās** *house*, **dlas** *glass*, **džais** (O.Fr. **gistə**) *joist*, **gīs** *geese*, **kēs** *to curse*, **kus** *kiss*, **lās** (pl. **lais**) *louse*, **mās** (pl. **mais**) *mouse*, **muns** *months*, **oes** *horse*, **ues(t)** *hoarse*, **žis** *this*.

anz *hands*, **bleez** *blaze*, **duz** *dost, does*, but **dus tə?** *dost thou?* **greez** *to graze*, **iuz** *to use*, **loiz** (OE. **losian**) *to lose*, **nuez** *nose*, **raiz** *to rise*, **ruez** *rose*, **temz** (ME. **temse**) *hop-sieve*, **tluez** *clothes*.

Final **z** is very common in originally unstressed forms, as **iz**, **z** *is*, **žaz** *thou hast*, **īz** *he has, he is*, **ez**, **uz** *us*, never **us** even as stressed form, **ez** *as*.

§ 311. **s** has disappeared in: **pei** (ME. **pese**) *pea*, **ridl** (ME. **redels**) *riddle*, **šimi** *chemise*, **tšeri** (O.Fr. **cerise**) *cherry*.

The Gutturals.

C.

§ 312. Germanic **k**, generally written **c** in OE., remained a guttural initially before the guttural vowels **a**, **ā**, **o**, **ō**, **u**, **ū** and their mutations **e**, **æ**, **e**, **ē** (**œ**), **y**, **ȳ**, but became a palatal before the palatal vowels **æ**, **ē** (= OHG. **ā**), **e** (= Germanic **e**) **ea**, **eo**, **ēa**, **ēo**, **i**, **ī** and their mutations **e**, **ie** (= i-umlaut of **ea**, **eo**), **ie** (i-umlaut of **ēa**, **ēo**).

Medial **c** and **cc** remained a guttural before **a** following **a**, **o**, **u**, but became palatal when an **i** or **j** originally followed, as **sēc(e)an** = Goth. **sōkjan** *to seek*, **pece(e)an** from oldēr ***pakjan** *to cover*, **bryce** from older ***brukiz** *breach*. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 206-7.

But already at an early period the palatals became gutturals again in many cases in the Anglian dialects, e.g. **sēcān** *to seek*, **þencan** *to think*, **cāld** *cold*. See Sweet, HES. § 535, Kluge, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, i. pp. 836-41.

1. Initial **c** before consonants.

c has disappeared before **n**: **neid** *to knead*, **naif** *knife*, **nī** *knee*.

It has remained before **r**: **krap**s *the renderings of lard*, **kreev** *to crave*, **krinž** *to cringe*, **kriuk** *crook*, **kroe** *craw*.

It has become **t** before **l**: **tlād** *cloud*, **tlam** *to famish*, **tlāt** *clout*, **tleɡ** (Lowland Scot. **clag**) *to clog*, **tleŋk** *to flog*, **box on the ears**, **tlie(r)** *clear*, **tliet** *coltsfoot*, **tlieŋ** *clean*, **tlim** *to climb*, **tlip** *to cling*, **tlip** *to clip*, **tliau** *a ball of string or worsted*, **tliv** *to cleave*, **tlœ** *claw*, **tlœk** *to scratch with the fingers or claws*, **tlœk** *to cluck*, **tlomp** *to tread heavily*, **tlœk** *cloak*, **tlœp** *cloth*, **tlœvœ(r)** *clover*. **k** has disappeared in **nek-læp** *neckcloth*, *handkerchief*.

2. Initially before vowels.

kā cow, **kaf** chaff, **kaind** kind, **kait** kite, **kanl** candle, **kāt** cart, **kāv** to carve, **keek** bread of every kind, **kee(r)** care, **kei** key, **kek** hemlock, **kemp** (ME. *kempe* shaggy) small coarse white hairs in wool, **kep** to catch (a ball, etc.), **kest** (ME. *kesten*) to cast, **ketl** kettle, **kēget** kirkgate (but **tšētš** church), **kēnl** kernel, **kēs** to curse, **kōsmes** Christmas, **kīl** to cool, **kil** (OE. *cwellan*) to kill, **kiln** kiln, **e-kin** akin, **kīn** keen, **kindm** (OE. *cynedōm*) kingdom, **kin-kof** (cp. ME. *kinken* to pant, gasp), whooping cough, **kīp** to keep, **kist** a chest, box, **kit** (ME. *kitte*, cp. Mid. Du. *kitte*) a pail, **kitl** to tickle, **kitl** to bring forth kittens, **kitšn** kitchen, **koef** calf, **koel** to call, **kal** to gossip, **koen** corn, **koit** coat, **koud** cold, **kouk** (see NED. sub *colk*) coke, **kout** colt, **kubed** cupboard, **kud** (OE. *cwidu*) cud, **kuem** comb, **kūk** cook, **kum** to come.

tšaid to chide, **tšap** chap, **tšavl** to nibble at, gnaw, chew, **tšeu** to chew, **tšētš** church, **tšiep** cheap, **tšik** cheek, **tšikin** chicken, **tšilde(r)** children, **tšin** chin, **tšerep** to chirp, **tšiz** cheese, **tšiuz** to choose, **tšoek** chalk, **tšoul** (ME. *chavel*, O. Low Germ. *kafal*) lit. jaw, only used in the phrase **tšik on tšoul** said of two people walking closely together, **tšuek** to choke, **tšuf** proud, haughty.

3. Initial *sc*.

skab scab, **skaftin** shafting, **skelp** (ME. *skelpen*) to beat, flog, **skep** (O. Icel. *skeppa*) a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, **skeelz** scales, **skōf** scurf, **skai** sky, **skift** to shift, remove, **skil** skill, **skin** skin, **skoup** scoop, **skuft** the nape of the neck, **skuil** school, **skul** skull of the head, **skute(r)** to spill, **skraml** to scramble, **skreep** to scrape, **skrat** (ME. *scrattin*) to scratch, **skriem** to scream, **skrīk** (O. Low Germ. *scrīcōn*) to shriek.

šak to shake, **šait** cacare, **šaiu** (ME. *schīve*, M. Low Germ. *schīve*) a slice, **šakl** shackle, **šap** shape, **šel** shell,

šelf shelf, **š**eed shade, **š**eem shame, **š**ee(r) share, **š**ie(r) to shear, **š**il (ME. schellen, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has schillin) to shell peas, **šin** shin, **šip** ship, **šiuk** shook, **šop** shop, **šot** shot, **šut** shut, **šuðe(r)** to shudder, **šuv** to shove, **šrenk** shrank, **šrimp** shrimp, **šrink** to shrink.

Initial **sc** has become **s** in: **sal**, **sl**, **s** shall, **sud**, **sed**, **st** should.

4. When medial **c** has not become final in the W. dialect.

esked (cp. ME. aske lizard) newt, **fikl** fickle, **kokl** cockle, **miks** (by metathesis from OE. miscian) to mix, **sikl** sickle, **twinkl** to twinkle.

flike(r) to flicker, **neekt** naked, **snikit** a small passage, **wokr** to waken.

kitšn kitchen.

meed made, **musl** mussel, **teen** taken, **feseen** forsaken.

5. When **c** or its further development is final in the W. dialect.

bek beck, **beek** to bake, **brek** to break, **briuk** brook, **daik** ditch, **dreek** drake, **fleek** flake (of snow), **bried-fleik** (O. Icel. **fleki** hurdle) a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried, **flik** flitch of bacon, **flok** flock, **ik** (cp. Low Germ. hicken) to hitch, **iuk** hook, **kok** cock, **lavrek** lark, **lek** to leak, **leek** to play, **lik** to lick, **liuk** to look, **lok** lock, **mak** to make, **muk** muck, **nek** neck, **niuk** nook, **nok** to knock, **pak** bundle, **pluk** pluck, **prik** to prick, **reek** rake, **reik** to reach, **rik** smoke, **sāk** to suck, **sek** sack, **seek** sake, **slek** small coal, **slek** to extinguish a fire with water, **slumek** a dirty, untidy person, **sneek** snake, **snek** (ME. snekke) latch of a door, **spek** speck, **speik** to speak, **steek** stake, **suek** to soak, **tak** to take, **tik** tick, **tiuk** took, **tlik** (OE. clyccan) to clutch, seize, catch hold, **pak** thatch, **pik** thick, **weik** (ME. weke) the wick of a lamp or candle, **wāk** (noun) work, **wēk** to work, **wik** (O. Icel. **vik** (noun) stirring, moving) quick, alive.

boek *balk, beam*, **toek** *to talk*, **woek** *to walk*.

benk *bench*, **drink** *to drink*, **enk** *hank*, **spenk** *to hit*, **pink** *to think*.

bāk *bark*, **bēk** *birch*, **foek** *fork*, **māk** *mark*, **moek** *maggot*, **stāk** (OE. *stearc strong, severe*) *very, quite*, **wāk** (OE. *wærc*, O. Icel. *verkr*) *ache, pain*.

Palatal *nc* has become *nš* : **drenš** (OE. *drencean*) *to drench*.

bitš *bitch*, **bleitš** *to bleach*, **breitš** *breach*, **britš** *breech*, **eťš** *to hatch*, **fotš** *to fetch*, **krutš** *crutch*, **latš** *latch*. **leitš** *leech*, **meitš** *to measure*, **mitš** *much*, **notš** *a run at the game of cricket*, **pitš** *pitch*, **sitš** *such*, **speitš** *speech*, **stitš** *stitch*, **stretš** *to stretch*, **swetš** (OE. *swæcc a taste*) *a sample of cloth*, **tletš** (cp. O. Icel. *klekja to hatch*) *a brood of chickens*, **teitš** *to teach*, **witš** *which*, **wotš** *to watch*.

6. Final *sc*.

ask (ME. *harsk*, cp. Dan. *harsk*) *dry, rough, harsh*, **besk** *to bask*, **busk** *to go about from place to place singing and playing for money*.

eš *ash-tree*, **fiš** *fish*, **fleš** *flesh*, **freš** *fresh*, **peš** (ME. *paschen*, cp. Swed. *paska*) *to knock about, smash, dash*, **reš** *rash*, **weš** *to wash*, **wiš** *to wish*.

sc has become *s* in **as** (OE. *æsce*) *ash*, **as-midin** *ash-pit*, **as** *beside aks* (OE. *āscian, ācsian*) *to ask*, **mens** (OE. *men-nisc dignity, honour*) *neatness, tidiness*.

§ 313. **k** has disappeared through assimilation in **kēget** *kirkgate*, **kin-kof** *whooping cough*, beside **kin** (ME. *kinken to pant, gasp*) *to cough (of whooping cough)*, **wāte** (lit. *work day*, *kd > kt > tt > t*) *week day*. **nks > ns** in the phrase **pins te?** *thinkest thou?* as **ednt'e out te** (e) *dunt, pins te?* (lit. *hadst not thou ought to have done it, thinkest thou?*) *don't you think you ought to have done it?* Many people pronounce it as if it were **pin ste?**

§ 314. The relation, if any, of **bleg**, plural **blegz**, to *blackberry* is difficult to explain. It may be that **blakberi** became **blagberi** by assimilation, and that then **beri** was dropped. **blag** would regularly become **bleg** in the W. dial., see § 59.

g.

§ 315. OE. initial **g** was a voiced spirant before both vowels and consonants. Before guttural vowels and their mutations (cp. § 312) it was a guttural spirant, as also before **æ** (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 212), but before the palatal vowels **e** (=Germanic **e**), **ea**, **eo**, **ēa**, **ēo**, **i**, **ie** it was a palatal spirant. At a later period the guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, and **ȳ** (=i-umlaut of **ū**), **ē** (=i-umlaut of **ō**); but the palatal spirant remained. On forms like Mod. Engl. **give**, **get**, **begin**, etc., see Sweet's New English Grammar §§ 817-8, and Kluge in Paul's Grundriss I. pp. 843-4.

Medially between vowels it was a voiced spirant. After **n** (=r) it was an explosive. And when geminated (written **cg**) it was also a voiced guttural or palatal explosive according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel.

During the OE. period final **g** became **h** after long guttural vowels and **r**, **l**, Sievers § 214.

1. Initial **g** before consonants.

It has disappeared before **n**: **neeg** to *gnaw*, **nat** *gnat*.

It has remained before **r**: **gēsl** *gristle*, **gree** *grey*, **grīn** *green*, **grund** *ground*.

Before **l** it has become **d**: **dlad** *glad*, **dlāmi** *sad*, *down-cast*, **dlas** *glass*, **dlium** *gloom*, **dlue(r)** (ME. **glōren**, Swed. **glōra**) *to stare*, **dlumpi** *sulky*, *morose*.

2. Initially before vowels.

Initially before vowels it has had the same development as in lit. Engl. :

gab (cp. O. Icel. **gabba**) *impudence, cheek*, **ganə(r)** *gander*, **gavlek** (OE. **gafoluc** *spear*) *crowbar*, **geep** *to gape*, **geet** *gate*, **gest** *guest*, **get** *to get*, **gilt** (O. Icel. **gilta**) *a young female pig*, **be-gin** *to begin*, **giv**, **gi** *to give*, **goit** *a water channel, mill-stream*, **guet** *goat*, **goud** *gold*, **guid** *good*.

jād *yard*, **jān** *yarn*, **jel** *to yell*, **jelp** *to yelp*, **jest** *yeast*, **jestode** *yesterday*, **jild** *to yield*, **joen** *to yawn*, **jolə** *yellow*, **juek** *yolk*.

3. When **g** or its further development has not become final in the W. dial.

æg has become **ee**: **breen** *brain*, **eel** *hail*, **feen** *fain, gladly*, **fee(r)** *fair*, **meen** *main*, **neel** *nail*, **peel** *pail*, **sleen** *slain*, **sneel** *snail*, **teel** *tail*, see § 65. But we have **sed** (OE. **sæde** beside **sægde**) *said*.

ag has become **oe**: **doen** *to dawn*.

āg has become **oe** in **oen** *own*.

eg has become **ee** and has thus fallen together with **ee** from **æg**: **breed** (OE. **bregdan**) *to resemble, act like another person*, **geen** (O. Icel. **gegn**) *near, direct*, **geen** *gain*, **leed** *laid*, **leen** *lain*, **reel** *rail*, **reen** *rain*, **seel** *sail*. See § 84.

ig has become **i**: **stīl**, **stī** *stile*, **tīl** *tile*, cp. also **stī** *ladder*. But we have **sail** from **sigelian** *to drain through a sieve*, **saið** from **sigpe** *scythe*. **ig** cannot have become **i** at a very early period in the North, otherwise it would have become **ai** like old **i**. Cp. also **Easther**, A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield, sub **sile** and **stigh**.

og has become **ou**: **floun** *flown*.

ug has become **ā**: **fāl** *fowl*, **kāl** *cowl*.

4. When **g**, **cg**, or their further development have become final in the W. dialect.

a. *g* has combined with the preceding vowel along with which it has become a long vowel or a diphthong.

æg: *dee day, mee* (emphatic form) *may*.

ag: *droe to draw, loe law*.

āg: *lou low, ou to owe*.

æg: *gree grey, tlee clay; kei key, nei to neigh*.

eg: *wee way, wei to weigh*.

ēg: *dī to dye, drī dreary, gloomy, tedious, tī to tie*.

īg: *stī sty, stī ladder*.

og: *bou* (OE. *boga*) *bow*.

ōg: *biu bough, driu drew, iniu* (pl.) *enough*, as *este inif bried?* *hast thou enough bread?* But *este iniu poreets?* *hast thou enough potatoes?* *pliu plough, sliu slew*.

œg: *slī sly*.

ug: *sā sough, drain; but suf-oil manhole of a drain, bā to bow, sā* (OE. *sugu*) *sow*.

ȳg: *drai dry*.

ēag: *ī* (pl. *in*) *eye*.

ēog: *flī to fly, flī fly, lī to tell a lie*.

b. After *l* we have *e, i*: *bele to bellow, folē to follow, gales gallows, swole to swallow, tale tallow, beli belly*.

After *r* we have *e, i*: *bore to borrow, mare marrow, sore sorrow, beri berry, beri to bury, weri to worry*.

c. Final *ig* in unaccented syllables has become *i*: *bodi body, dizi dizzy, evi heavy, moni many, oni any, rudi ruddy*.

d. We have *f in*: *duēf dough, duēfi cowardly*, lit. *doughy*, *dwāf dwarf, inif* (sing.) *enough, sluf slough, suf-oil manhole of a drain, trof trough, uf displeasure, an offended manner, rage*.

Here may conveniently be placed *druft* (OE. *drūgap*) *drought, sterep* (OE. *stīg-rāp*) *stirrup, bākm* (OE. *beorg + ham*, see N.E.D. sub *bargham*) *the collar of a horse*.

NOTE.—*sā drain*, and *iniu* (pl.) *enough*, are from the inflected forms.

e. The W. dialect has *g* :

dreeg to drawl, *eeg* the berry of the hawthorn, *ig* (OE. *hyge* mind) mood, temper, *meeg* maw, *neeg* to gnaw, *seeg* a saw.

beg bag, *big* big, great, *breg* to brag, *brig* bridge, *briggz* a trivet, in brewing, to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, *deg* (cp. Swed. *dagga* to bedew) to besprinkle with water, *dig* to dig, *dog* dog, *dreg* to drag, *dregz* drags, *eg* (ME. *eggen*) to incite, urge on, *eg* egg, *flig* (ME. *fligge*, cp. OHG. *flukke* able to fly) fledge, *flog* to flog, *fog* (ME. *fogge* rank grass) after-grass, *frig* coire, *frog* frog, *geg* (ME. *gaggin*) to gag, *ie-wig* earwig, *leg* leg, *lig* to lie down, *lug* (ME. *luggen*, Swed. *lugga* to lug, drag) to pull the hair of the head, *mig* midge, *og* the wool of a sheep which has been shorn for the first time, *pig* pig, *prog* wood collected for the fire on the fifth of November, *reg* rag, *rig* back, *rigin* ridge of a house, *seg* sedge, *seg* (ME. *saggin*) to distend, *šeg* shag, *tug* (ME. *tuggen*) to tug, *plod*, *twig* twig, *ug* to carry, *weg* to wag.

f. The W. dialect has *dž* in : *edž* hedge, *edž* edge, *sledž-ame(r)* sledge-hammer, *wedž* wedge.

g. Palatal *ng* has become *nž* : *inž* hinge, *krinž* to cringe, *sinž* to singe.

h. *bai* (OE. *bycgan*) to buy, *lee* (OE. *lecgan*) to lay, see (OE. *secgan*) to say are from the forms without gemination.

h.

§ 316. OE. initial *h* was an aspirate like the *h* in Mod. Engl. hand. In other positions it was a spirant like the *ch* in German nach, ich.

§ 317. a. Initial *h* has disappeared in the W. dialect :

ap (ME. *happen*) *to wrap up, eft haft, handle, oil hole, uel whole, ut hot.*

loup (O.Icel. *hlaupa*) *to jump, luef* (OE. *hlāf*) *loaf.*

nit (OE. *hnitu*) *nit, nut* (OE. *hnutu*) *nut.*

rin (OE. *hring*) *ring, riuk* (OE. *hrōc*) *rook.*

wie(r) *where, wiet wheat, wāf wharf, wen when, wot what.*

§ 318. *b.* Medial and final **h** have disappeared except in the examples under *c, d* :

eit *eight, eit height, feit to fight, reit right, streit straight, weit weight.*

brīt *bright, flīt flight, frīt fright, līt light, līts* (ME. *lihte*) *the lungs of animals, mīt* (noun) *might, nīt night, plīt plight, rīt wright, sīt sight, slīt slight, tīt tight.*

bout *bought, brout brought, doute(r) daughter, out aught, out ought, nout naught, rout wrought, sout sought, tout taught, pout thought.*

ei *high, but efe(r)* (OE. *hēahfore*) *heifer, nei nigh, but neebe(r)* (OE. *nāah-gebūr*) *neighbour.*

sī *to sigh, see Mayhew* OE. Phonology, § 814, *soe he saw, pī thigh.*

fere (OE. *furh*, ME. *furh, furwe*) *furrow, ole* (OE. *holh*, ME. *holwe*) *hollow.*

§ 319. *c.* **h** has become **f** in: **draft draught, draft, kof cough, laf laugh, ruf rough, tof tough, woef** (OE. *walh sickly taste*) *insipid.*

laſte(r) *laughter, slaſter to slaughter.*

Beside **priu** (OE. *purh*) we have also **prif** *through.*

§ 320. *d.* **hs** has become **ks**: **nekst** *next, oks ox, siks six, woks to grow.*

The French Element.

§ 321. The consonants of the French words occurring in the W. dialect have for the most part been already treated along with the other consonants. There therefore only remain to be added a few examples of **k**, **g**, **š**, **tš**, **dž**.

k.

§ 322. **k** has remained : **koul** (O. Fr. *coillir*) *to rake*, **koese** (O. Norm. Fr. *causie*) *causeway*, **keed** *card*, **kees** *case*, **keisn** (lit. *occasion*) *need, necessity*, **kontréeri** *contrary*, **kreek** *to creak*.

skafi *scaffold*, **skafin** *scaffolding*, **skoud** *to scald*, **skeelit** *scarlet*, **kwaleti** *quality*, **kwari** *stone quarry*, **kwalet** *quiet*, **kweet** *quart*, **keekes** *body, carcase*, **blenkit** *blanket*, **blenk** *blank*, **ink** *ink*, **renk** *rank*, **avek** *havoc*, **biek** *beak*, **leelek** *lilac*, **paik** *to pick, choose, select*, **puek** *pork*, **fakt** *fact*, but pl. **faks**.

§ 323. **kl** has become **tl** in **tlāk** *clerk*, **tleem** *claim*, **trietl** *treacle*. The change of initial **kl** to **tl** is quite regular in native English words also (§ 312, 1), but **trietl** is the only example I know where medial or rather final **kl** has become **tl**.

§ 324. **kw** has become **tw** in : **twil** *quill*, **pen**, **twilt** *quilt*, **twilt** *to beat, thrash*.

§ 325. **wišin** *cushion*, seems to be the same as the literary word originally, but I cannot for the present offer a satisfactory explanation of the exact relation in which they stand to each other.

g.

§ 326. g has remained: *gāl the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye* (see Florio, s.v. *cispa a kind of waterish matter in sore eyes*, called of some **Gowl**. Or it is *cispi waterish* or *gowly eyes*), *galək* (O. Fr. *gale*) *left hand*, *garit garret*, *geete(r) garter*, *gizn to choke*, *gol goal*, only used in the game of *lits en gēts* (§ 177), *grant grant*, *egrivéet to aggravate*, *vex*, *eegifái to argue, dispute*.

š.

§ 327. We regularly have š in cases where the lit. language has this sound: *fešn fashion*, *pešn passion*, *rediš radish*.

finiš finish, *vāniš varnish*, *blemiš blemish*.

branš branch, *eenšn ancient*.

dž.

§ 328. dž has generally remained in words where the lit. language has this sound. In the W. dial. dž also occurs after n: *džais joist*, *dželes jealous*, *dželi jelly*, *džoul to knock, strike*, *džoint joint*, *džoem the side post of a door or chimney piece*, *džoenes jaundice*, *eedž age*, *damidž damage*, *fuedž forge*, *indžói to enjoy*, *lenwidž language*, *pidžn pigeon*, *soudže(r) soldier*.

indžn engine, *moendž mange*, *moendži mangy, peevish*, *streendž strange*, *tšeendž change*.

§ 329. dž has become d in: *Doed George*, *Dued Joe*, *Duez*, *Duezi Joshua*, *doi joy, darling*, a pet word applied to children. This last word gives a clue to the explanation of

the change, which is no doubt due to the imperfect pronunciation of children being imitated by grown-up persons. The proper names must originally have been used in addressing children only, just as **doi** still is, and then afterwards have become used for grown-up persons.

tš.

§ 330. We regularly have **tš** in the same words in which the literary language has it: **tšapl** *chapel*, **tšeedž** *to charge*, **tšeeme(r)** *chamber*, **tšeri** *cherry*, **tšimli** *chimney*, **tšois** *choice*, **tšons** *chance*, **tšont** *chant*.

preitš *to preach*, **poutš** *to poach*.

ACCIDENCE.



CHAPTER VII.

NOUNS.

A. Formation of the Plural.

I. Plurals in -ez, -z, -s.

§ 331. Nouns ending in *s, š, z, ž* add *ez* to form the plural, as *las lass lasez*, *fees face feesez*, but *ās house* has *āzez*; *diš dish dišez*, *wotš watch wotšez*; *nuəz nose*, *nuəzez*, *saiz size saizez*; *edž hedge edžez*, *džudž judge džudžez*.

§ 332. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than *z, ž* add *z*, as: *lad lad ladz*, *gam game gamz*, *ratn rat ratnz*, *leeč barn leečz*, *dee day deez*. But nouns ending in *-nd, (-r)* lose the *-d, (-r)* before the plural ending §§ 302, 259, as *frend friend frenz*, *fačə(r) father fačəz*.

§ 333. Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than *s, š* add *s*, as *lat lath lats*, *kap cap kaps*, *diep death dieps*, *māp mouth māps*, *wāf wharf wāfs*, *ruif roof ruifs*.

But nouns ending in *f* preceded by a vowel or diphthong (except *ui*) which was long in OE., and nouns originally ending in *-lf* change the *f* into *v* and add *z* in the plural, as *luof loaf luevz*, *naif knife naivz*, *koef calf koevz*.

2. Plurals in *-n*.

§ 334. There are only three nouns which have *-n* in the plural: *ī eye īn*, *oks ox oksn*, *šū shoe šuin*.

3. Plural in *-r*.

§ 335. The only example of this class is *tšilde(r) children*. In the singular we use *bān*, the plural of which is *bānz*, and is in more general use than *tšilde(r)*.

4. Plurals with umlaut.

§ 336. These are: *fuit foot fīt*, *guis goose gīs*, *lās louse*, *lais, man man men*, *mās mouse mais*, *tuip tooth tīp*, *wumēn woman wimin*.

5. Singular and Plural alike.

§ 337. *as ash, ashes*, *fiš fish, fishes*, *šīp sheep*.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure, and number, when preceded by a cardinal numeral, as *iz net bin sīn fe ten jie(r) he has not been seen for ten years*, but *its jiez sin e we sīn it's years since he was seen*, and similarly with *munp month*, *wik week*. *pri mail pre Koevle three miles from Calverley*, but *mailz pre čie(r) miles from there*, and similarly for *inš inch*, *fuit foot*, *jied yard*, *eeke(r) acre*, etc. *ten pund e meit ten pounds of meat*, cp. lit. Engl. *a ten-pound note*, but *če we punz ont weested there were pounds of it wasted*, and similarly with *āns ounce*, *stuen stone*, *unded weit hundred weight*, etc. *tū kweet et best two quarts of the best (ale)*, *siks gain six gallons*, *nain šilin nine shillings*, etc. *foue skue(r) four scores*, but *skuez on em scores of them*, etc.

6. Miscellaneous.

§ 338. Some nouns are only used in the plural as: **kruds** curds, **laps** a kind of woollen waste made in spinning, **lits** lungs of animals, **loks** small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, **mezls** measles, **noilz** the short hairs taken out of the wool by the combing machine, **roidz** clearings (of a wood), now only used in the phrase **West Roidz West Royds**, **siðez** scissors, **sperinz** banns of marriage, **tenz** tongs, **trūzez** trousers. Others have a different meaning in the singular and the plural, as **brig** bridge pl. **brigs** bridges, a trivet to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, **green** grain **greenz** malt which has been used in brewing beer, **grund** ground **grunz** sediment.

Nouns with double plural endings are rare, but we have them in: **beleşez** bellows, **galesez** braces, **stepsez** steps.

In speaking of cows the form **bies** is generally used, as **ā moni bies eje nā?** *how many cows (lit. beasts) have you now?*

poridž porridge, always, and **brop** broth, frequently, require the plural form of the verb as **ðem poridž worent ez guid ez ðe out tē (e) bīn**, lit. *them porridge were not as good as they ought to have been.*

B. Formation of the Genitive Case.

§ 339. The sign of the genitive both singular and plural is generally omitted when one noun qualifies another; the two nouns thus forming a kind of compound, as **ðemz mi faðe buits** *those are my father's boots*; but **ðem buits e mi faðez** *those boots are my father's*, **tlad faðe buits** *the boy's father's boots*, but **tbuits e tlad faðez** *the boots of the boy's*

father, ťem bānz (never bānzez) muče(r) those children's mother.

When the genitive is not followed by another noun, the gen. singular and plural have the same form as the nom. plural. The only exceptions are that nouns which end in **-vz** in the plural have **-fs** in the gen. singular, **waifs** *wife's*, and the two umlaut-plurals **men**, **wimin** have sing. **manz**, **wumenz**, plural **menz**, **wiminz**.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADJECTIVES.

1. The Articles.

§ 340. The indefinite article **e** *a*, **en** *an*, differs from lit. Engl. in so far that **e** may be used before both vowels and consonants. It is equally right to say: **av etn e** or **en apl** *I have eaten an apple*. In **nidiet** *idiot* and **noreišn** *row, disturbance*, the initial **n** has come from the indef. article, **čis nidiet** *this idiot*, **wots tmienin e čis noreišn** *what is the meaning of this (lit. oration) row?* Cp. lit. Engl. **newt** for **ewt**. Observe the phrase: **a wer i sitš en e steet** *I was in such (an) a state*.

§ 341. The definite article **t** *the* is generally attached to the following word, as **tman** *the man*, **tkoilz** *the coals*, **tak tguid enz** *take the good ones*, **tloed e tmane(r)** *the lord of the manor*, **a duent noe wot tman did wit** *I don't know what the man did with it*, **a no(e) ue tman wo(r)** *I know who the man was*.

When the word following the definite article begins with **t** or **d**, the only trace of the article is that **t** and **d** become suspended or popularly expressed lengthened. We make a clear distinction between **teebl** *table* and **t'eebl** *the table*, **dlium** *gloom* and **d'lium** *the gloom*. -

Cp. the similar distinction between *eit eight*, and *eit' eighth*.

We however always use *ðe* before *loed* when it means *God*, as *ðez nuebdi bed ðe loed en mī, noez wot iv ed te baid there is nobody but the Lord and myself, know what I have had to suffer. ðe* (never *t*) is also used after *uə who*, *wot what*, in such expressions as : *uə ðe divl did ðat ? who the devil did that ? wot ðe enment duz e wont ? what the hangment does he want ? a duent noə wot ðe enment i did wit I don't know what the hangment he did with it.*

NOTE.—In order to obtain information on this difference in the use of *t* and *ðe* in some other Yorkshire dialect, I wrote to Mr. Bradley, the Joint Editor of the New English Dictionary, who is thoroughly conversant with the Sheffield dialect; and from his kind communication I learn that the distinction in the Sheffield dialect is practically the same as in my own. I venture to quote the following extract from his letter, which will be found interesting and instructive.—‘*t* lord o’ *t* manor—(decidedly). When “Lord” means God, the association of liturgical and Bible reading generally cause the full pronunciation (*ðe*) to be used. But I have, though rarely, heard *t* Lord, in rather off-hand, irreverent speech; and “Lord-knows” without any article at all is common enough. A don’t know what *t*’man did wi’ it—(certainly not *ðe* man, nor man without article). What the hangment, What the devil, What the plague, etc.—(always *ðe*, never *t* or omitted). A know who *t*’man wor—(certainly not *ðe*, nor omitted).’

2. Comparison of Adjectives.

§ 342. The comparative is formed by adding *-ə(r)* and the superlative by adding *-ist* to the positive. This rule also holds good for familiar adjectives of two or more syllables. But unfamiliar adjectives of more than one syllable sometimes form the comparative and superlative by prefixing *mue(r)*, *muest*.

fāe(r) far, *fāə(r)*, *fārist*; *jun young*, *june(r)*, *junist* or *junst*; *uəlsm wholesome*, *uəlsm-ə(r)*, *uəlsm-ist*; *biutifi beautiful*, *biutifi-er*, *biutifi-ist*.

§ 343. The following adjectives are compared irregularly as in lit. Engl. :

<i>bad bad</i> }	<i>wāe(r)</i>	<i>wāst</i>
<i>il ill</i> }		
<i>guid good</i>	<i>bete(r)</i>	<i>best</i>
<i>lat late</i>	<i>late(r)</i>	<i>latist, last</i>
<i>litl little</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>liest</i>
<i>moni many</i> }	<i>mue(r)</i>	<i>muest</i>
<i>mitš much</i> }		
<i>nīe(r) near</i>	<i>nīere(r)</i>	<i>nīerist, nekst</i>

NOTE.—The use of *vari* before adjectives is the same as in lit. Engl.: *vari guid very good*. But instead of using *vari* we sometimes repeat the adjective with *ez* as: *guid ez guid very good, dāk ez dāk very dark*.

3. Numerals.

§ 344. *a.* Cardinal and ordinal numerals.

<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Ordinal.</i>
<i>wun one</i>	<i>fēst</i>
<i>tū two</i>	<i>seknd</i>
<i>pri three</i>	<i>pēd</i>
<i>foue(r) four</i>	<i>fouet</i>
<i>faiv five</i>	<i>fift</i>
<i>siks six</i>	<i>sikst</i>
<i>sevm seven</i>	<i>sevnt</i>
<i>eit eight</i>	<i>eit'</i>
<i>nain nine</i>	<i>naint</i>
<i>ten ten</i>	<i>tent</i>
<i>(e)levm eleven</i>	<i>(e)levnt</i>
<i>twelv twelve</i>	<i>twelft</i>
<i>pētīn thirteen</i>	<i>pētīnt</i>
<i>fouetīn fourteen</i>	<i>fouetīnt</i>

<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Ordinal.</i>
<i>fiftīn fifteen</i>	<i>fiftīnt</i>
<i>sikstīn sixteen</i>	<i>sikstīnt</i>
<i>sevntīn seventeen</i>	<i>sevntīnt</i>
<i>eitīn eighteen</i>	<i>eitīnt</i>
<i>naintīn nineteen</i>	<i>naintīnt</i>
<i>twenti twenty</i>	<i>twentit</i>
<i>twenti wun twenty-one</i>	<i>twenti fōst</i>
<i>twenti tū twenty-two</i>	<i>twenti seknd</i>
<i>pēti thirty</i>	<i>pētīt</i>
<i>foti forty</i>	<i>fotīt</i>
<i>fifti fifty</i>	<i>fiftīt</i>
<i>siksti sixty</i>	<i>sikstit</i>
<i>sevnti seventy</i>	<i>sevntīt</i>
<i>eiti eighty</i>	<i>eitīt</i>
<i>nainti ninety</i>	<i>naintīt</i>
<i>undəd hundred</i>	<i>undət</i>
<i>pāzn thousand</i>	<i>pāznt</i>

§ 345. The old form *uen one* is still retained in the phrase *tuen the one of two*, as *tuen on ēm est*, lit. *the one of them has it*, i. e. *one of the two has it*. The unaccented form is *en* or rather vocalic *n*, as *it wer e guidn it was a good one*. We may also note *wun-ā somehow*, *wun-ā er enuðe(r) somehow or other*.

On the suspended *t'* in *eit' eighth*, see §§ 341, 306.

m for older *n* (§ 270) is regularly heard in *sevm*, *(e)levm*; but in *sevnt*, *(e)levnt*, *sevntīn*, etc., *m* for older *n* is seldom, if ever, heard.

All the ordinals, except *seknd* and *pəd*, end in *t*. Most of these are, of course, new formations made after the analogy of *fōst*, *fift*, *sikst*, *twelft* which had *t* in OE. See § 309. In a similar manner the lit. Engl. ordinals *fifth*,

sixth, twelfth, and all those ending in *-nth* are new formations made after the analogy of such forms as *fourth*, OE. *fēowerða*.

§ 346. In playing at games, e. g. *marbles toæz*, boys have the following ordinals, denoting the order in which each is to begin the game. The boy who calls out *fëri* has the first turn. The order is *fëri first, seki second, pëdi third, lari last*.

NOTE.—*toæ* is used for a marble of any kind. When made of marble or alabaster it is called *e wait ali*, if streaked with red veins *e bluid ali*; when of glass *e glas ali*; when made of powdered stone *e stueni*; when made of clay *e pot donek*.

§ 347. *b.* Fractional numerals: *kweete(r) quarter, e fouet or wun peet ât e foue(r) a fourth, e pëd or wun peet ât e prī a third*, and similarly *tū pëdz or tū peets ât e prī two thirds, oef half*, as *e oef pund, oef pund, or oef e pund half a pound, oepni halfpenny, oepëp halfpennyworth*.

§ 348. *c.* Multiplicatives: *simpl simple, dubl double, tribl, pribl threefold, foue-foud fourfold, wuns once, twais twice, prī taimz three times*.

§ 349. *d.* Numerals in composition: *e tūpri lit. a two (or) three, a few*, as *ler em ev e tūpri let them have a few, tupms two pence, fipms fivepence, prëpms three pence, etc.*

CHAPTER IX.

PRONOUNS.

1. Personal.

§ 350.

FIRST PERSON.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	ai, (a, i)	wī, (wi, wə)
Obj.	mī, (mə)	uz, (əz, s)

SECOND PERSON.

Nom.	šā, tā, (ša, ta, tə)	jī, (ji, jə)
Obj.	ši, (še)	jī, (jə)

THIRD PERSON.

Singular.

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	ī, (i, ə)	it, (t)	šū, (šu, še)
Obj.	im	it, (t)	š(r), (ə(r)).

Plural.

Nom.	šeə, (še, še)
Obj.	šem, (əm, m).

The weak forms are in parentheses. They are far more frequently employed than the strong ones; the latter are only used to express special emphasis.

The weak form *i* *I* is older than *a*, it arose from the shortening of *ī* before the latter became *ai*, whereas *a* is the regular weak form of *ai*, cp. the weak forms *abed* *yes but*, *wol* *until*, *wa* *why*, beside the strong forms *aibed*, *wail* (noun) *while*, *wai*. Examples of the first person are :

muni guē wi jē? *must I go with you?* *sali et temoen?* *shall I have it to-morrow?* *if id nobed e bit e bras, a wodnt* (or *ad net*) *diu sitš wāk* *if I had only a little brass* (money), *I would not do such work*, *al kum en sī jē, wen i ger e bit e taim* *I will come and see you, when I get a bit of time*, *as e dun inā* *I shall have done presently*, *a fan em i tloin* *I found them in the lane*, *gi m(ə) e feu* *give me a few*, *Še told me Ša wer ie(r)* *they told me (that) thou wast here*. *wi or we bān dān til* *we are going down the hill*, *sud we len im it?* *should we lend him it?* *Šel or Šel stop wol we kum* *they will stop until (while) we come*. *lets as im let us* or *me ask him*, *še perkt ez fe tpeenz wid teen wit* *she thanked us for the pains we had taken with it*. The *z* in the strong form *uz* is never voiceless as it is in *lit. Engl.* The weak form *s* is only used when it is attached enclitically to a preceding voiceless consonant.

The strong form *tā* and the weak forms *ta*, *tə* can only be used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences, as *wil tā weš it?* *wilt thou wash it?* *witə len met?* *wilt thou lend me it?* *wies tə kum priu?* (*lit. where hast thou come through*) *where do you come from?* *kan tə diut bi Šisen?* *canst thou do it by thyself?* *wen tet redi wil send Šet* *when thou art ready we will send thee it*. *as or asl gi Še (ə) oepni* *if te elps me*, *I shall give thee a halfpenny if thou helpest me*, *Šat nuen se wil es tə wo(r)* *thou art not so well*

as thou wast, *šal* (never *tal* or *təl*) *find im et iz wāk thou wilt find him at his work*. At first sight one might be inclined to assume that the forms *tā*, *tə* have arisen from assimilation with verbal forms ending in *-t*, e. g. *āt* (§ 396) *art, out* (§ 394) *oughtest*, *dāst* (frequently *dēs* § 390) *durst*; but these are the three solitary instances in which the second person singular ends in *-t* where assimilation could take place. See the personal endings (§ 385). It is far more probable that the forms have arisen from their unaccented position in the sentence. If this is right then the def. art. *t* has a similar origin. However the *t* of the article arose, I certainly do not believe that it is a clipped form of *šat that*, which is regularly used as a demonstrative (§ 354), but never as a rel. pronoun or conjunction; the latter are expressed by *et* (§§ 356, 401). *am bān tə tak šē wi mē I am going to take thee with me*. *ji or je sed et im it ren you said that I am in the wrong*, *wot did je see tul im? what did you say to him?* *wil je sam mē šēm tuez up? will you pick up those clothes for me?* *jēv etn oel tmeit sue jel e tə diu bāt nā wol setedē you have eaten all the meat so you will have to do without until Saturday, if je (not ji) sī mi fašē(r), as im tə kum uēm if you see my father, ask him to come home*, *wi soe je i tmiłn we saw you in the mill*. The old objective form of the second person plural has entirely died out; cp. on the other hand the disappearance in Modern English of the old nom. *ye* except in liturgical and the higher literary language. The pronoun of the second person singular is still extensively used, but it is not so general now as it was twenty years ago. When I was a lad the following was the rule: *šā* was used in every case except that *jī* was used (1) in addressing strangers, especially grown-up people, or as a mark of respect to masters and old people; (2) children in addressing their

parents ; (3) people who had made each other's acquaintance after they had grown up usually employed *jī* in speaking to each other.

The masc. of the third person singular is the only pronoun which has not at least two forms for the obj. case. *im* is no doubt used as a weak form so as to prevent confusion with the obj. case of the plural. *t* is attached to the preceding word. The nominative of the feminine presents great difficulties. Dr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar* (§ 1068) gives the following explanation for the lit. Engl. form *she*: the old demonstrative *sēo* became *shō* through the intermediate stage *seō(sjoo)*, then *shō* became contaminated with the old personal pronoun *hēo*, which gave rise to the form *shēo* which would regularly become *she* in Mod. English. This explanation may or may not be right for the lit. language, but a form *shēo* could not possibly become *šū*, but only *ši* in the W. dial. as also in the other dialects round about Windhill; cp. the *Dialect Tests* in Ellis, *EEPr.* v. On the other hand, the uncontaminated form *shō* would not become *šū* but *šiu* in the modern dialect, cp. *tiu too*, *diu do*, etc. § 164 c; unless we may assume, which I do not believe is the case, that the one solitary example (*šū shoe*, but pl. *šuin* §§ 163-4 c) containing *ū* from older *ō* has not been borrowed from the lit. language. On the various origins of W. *ū* see § 40. For the present the form *šū she* still remains a riddle. The strong form *ðem* is from OE. *ðām* (*ðām*), the dat. plural of the demonstrative pronoun *sē*, *sēo*, *ðæt*, whereas the weak forms *em*, *m* are from OE. *heom*, the dat. plural of the personal pronoun *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*.

Examples of the third person are: *iz bīn on trant oel twik he has been on the spree all the week*, *eze fotšt ðat flik e beekn? has he fetched that flitch of bacon?* *i ied it wen e*

wer et jār ās *he heard it when he was at your house*, tiznt main *it is not mine*, eze funt? *has he found it?* gimet give me it, estet? *hast thou it?* wots e dun wit? *what has he done with it?* šuz in e mad ig *she is in a bad temper*, šu or še oles wešez e tmunde *she always washes (the clothes) on the Monday*, eše or es še sared tpigz? *has she served the pigs?* stop wol še kumz *stop until she comes*, ěed or ěed e gīn me ten šilin fot *they would have given me ten shillings for it*, wil ěe suin bi ie(r)? *will they soon be here?* ěel suin bi ier if ěe kum reit uem *they will soon be here if they come straight (right) home*, al sel jem *I will sell you them*, kan je diu bāt em? *can you do without them?*

It is hardly possible to give a very clearly defined and accurate rule for the use of the weak nominative forms:

a, wi; ji; i; šu; ěe beside

i, we; je; e; še; ěe.

The former set is mostly used in making direct assertions, and the latter in interrogative and subordinate sentences. i I and e he are never used in making direct assertions, but the other pairs are, and when the one form and when the other is used, seems to depend upon sentence rhythm.

The obj. case of all persons is often used reflexively, as al weš me nā *I will wash myself now*, am džust bān te don me *I am just going to dress myself*, i leed im dān i tfild *he lay down in the field*, kum fored lad en sit ěe dān en al set tketl *on come forward lad and sit (thee) down and I will set the kettle on (and make some tea).*

We always use the obj. case where in refined lit. Engl. the nom. is used:

1. After the substantive verb, as its mī, pī, ē(r), im, uz, ji, ěem, lit. *it is me, thee, her, him, us, you, them*. Note ěemz em et i *want those are the ones that I want*.

2. When the verb refers to different persons, as *im en mī went he and I went, Bil en imz guen dān trued Bill and he have gone down the road, uz en ðem we tegeðer oel d'ee we and they were together all the day.*

3. When the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the predicate by a subordinate sentence, as : *im et did ðat out to er he who did that ought to be hanged, uz ets dun se mitš for im me gue te d'ogz fer out ī keez we who have done so much for him may go to the dogs for aught he cares.*

2. Possessive.

§ 351. *a.* Conjoint: *mai, (mi) my; āe(r), (we(r)) our; ðai, (ði) thy; jāe(r), (je(r)) your; iz, is his; it its, ē(r), (e(r)) her, ðee(r), (ðe(r)) their.*

The weak forms are in parentheses. As in the personal pronouns so also here the weak forms are far more frequently used than the strong ones. *mi, ði, ðe(r)* are from the Middle English weak forms *mi, ði, ðer*, and not Modern weakenings of the strong forms; otherwise we should have had *ma, ða* for our *mi, ði*, see § 350. *we(r)* has been formed from *wē* after the analogy of *je ye, je(r)*, thus *je : je(r) :: wē : we(r)*. *iz* is used before vowels and voiced consonants and *is* before voiceless consonants, as *iz ās his house, iz oen his own, iz muðe(r) his mother, is koit his coat, is faðe(r) his father, este sīn it faðe(r)? hast thou seen its (=the child's) father? it ied wāks its head aches.*

§ 352. *b.* Absolute: *main mine, āz ours, ðain thine, jāz yours, iz his, its its, ēz hers, ðeez theirs.*

3. Reflexive.

§ 353.

FIRST PERSON.

Singular.

misen
misel
miseln

Plural.

wesen
wäsenz
wesel
weseln

SECOND PERSON.

čisen
čisel
čiseln

jesen
jesenz
jesel
jeseln

THIRD PERSON.

Singular.

<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
i(s)sen	itsen	esen
i(s)sel	itsel	esel
i(s)seln	itseln	eseln

Plural.

česen
česenz
česel
česeln

The stress is always on the second syllable. When these pronouns are used emphatically the stress on the second syllable is of course stronger than when they are used reflexively. All the forms -sel, -seln, -sen are often heard without any distinction in meaning.

Such a variety of forms must be quite modern, and is probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects. The *-sen*-forms are far more common than either of the other two. In the Eastern North Midland dialects, to which Windhill belongs (Ellis, *EEPr.* v. pp. 364-408), I find the following forms: *-seln* at Huddersfield and Halifax; *-sen* at Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield. In this division of dialects no *-self*-forms seem to be known.

In order to find out the areas of the *-sel*, *-seln*, and *-sen*-forms I have carefully examined all the classified word-lists and comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, *EEPr.* v, with the following results. *-sel* is the only form that occurs in all the North Northern, West Northern, and East Northern dialects, except at Holderness (S.E. Yorkshire) and South Ainsty, where we find *-sen*. The North North Midland, West North Midland, and South North Midland dialects have only *-sel*. The Border Midland dialects, which embrace the county of Lincolnshire, have only the *-sen*-form. The *-sen*-form does not seem to occur south of Lincolnshire. *-self* is regularly found without exception in all the Eastern dialects. The Mid Southern dialects have *-self*, *-zelf*, except at Much Cowarne (nine miles N.E. of Hereford) we find *-sel* and in Western Dorset *-zel*. The North Border Southern, Mid Border Southern, and South Border Southern dialects have only *-self*. In the East Southern dialects, which embrace almost the whole of Kent, with East Sussex, examples are wanting except that *-saaf*, pl. *-saavz* occurs at Faversham (eight miles W.N.W. of Canterbury). The Northern West Southern dialects regularly have *-zel*. In the Southern West Southern dialects all three forms, *-sel*, *-zel*, and *-self*, occur. For the Western West Southern dialects examples are wanting.

The South Western dialects seem to have *-self*, but more examples are wanting to be certain, as only one example of the reflexive occurs in this division, viz. at Docklow (five miles E. S. E. of Leominster). For the North Western dialects there is only one example given in Ellis, viz. *-sel* for Pulverbach (seven miles S.W. of Shrewsbury).

wesen, etc. have been formed from the weak possessive *we(r) our*, which is itself a new formation, § 351. There is no difference in meaning or usage between *wesen* and *wesenz*, *ðesen* and *döesenz*. *jösen* is used for the sing. and plural *yourself, yourselves*, but *jesenz yourselves* has always a plural meaning.

The simplex *self* occurs in the dialect, as *e tself seem döe on the self same day*.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 354.

Sing.	<i>ðis this</i>	<i>ðat that</i>	<i>jon yon.</i>
Plural.	<i>ðiez these</i>	<i>ðem those</i>	<i>jon yon.</i>

ðis and *ðiez* are often followed by *ie(r)* *here*, and *ðat*, *ðem* by *ðie(r)*, *there*, as *ðis ier ās wonts e lot e tlienin this house wants a lot of cleaning, dus te laik ðiez ie(r)? dost thou like these? a kânt eit ðat ðie meit I can't eat that meat, i ga mæ ðat ðie koit he gave me that coat, ðem ðier aplz kost tupms those apples cost twopence, ðemz vari guid bød ðiez ez or e bete(r) those are very good but these are better.*

ðem is the only word used for *those*, a form *ðuez* would be quite foreign to the dialect.

5. Interrogative.

§ 355.

*Masc. and Fem.**Neut.*Nom., Obj. *ue who**wot what, wits which.*Gen. *uez whose.*

uem whom is never used in the W. dialect. Beside *wot* we have also *wor*, on which see § 290.

6. Relative.

§ 356. The relative pronoun is expressed either by *et* for all genders and numbers, or by *ue* for the masc. and fem., *wot* for the neuter. *et* is invariably used when the antecedent is expressed; in other cases we always use *ue*, *wot*. Thus: *im et sed suez rep he who said so is wrong*, *tman et i soe jestede the man whom I saw yesterday*, *tlas et i gav e pund e aplz tul ez etn em oel the lass to whom I gave a pound of apples has eaten them all*, *tkoilz et te bout dan i Windil e vari guid the coals which thou boughtest down in Windhill are very good*, *did je si dem et did it? did you see those who did it? dem men et te so(e) i trued wer on trant those men whom thou sawest in the road were on the spree.*

a no(e) uez dunt I know who has done it, *we no(e) uez it iz we know whose it is*, *a noe wot te sez I know what thou sayest*, *a ken or kn ges ue dzaz bin wi I can guess with whom thou hast been*, *a duent beliv wot e sez I don't believe what he says; but a duent beliv e wed (et) i sez I don't believe a word (that) he says.*

The obj. case of *et*, but never of *ue*, *wot*, is often omitted: *tman i soe the man (whom) I saw*, *tkoilz e bout the coals (which) he bought.*

et is of Norse origin and was originally only used as a conjunction with the meaning of *that*. But already in Old Icelandic it came to be used both as a relative pronoun and conjunction just as it still is in the W. dialect: **a no(ə) et im i tgeet** *I know that I am in the way*. See Noreen, *Altisländische und altnordische Grammatik*, § 402. **et** occurs as a rel. pronoun in the Northern English dialects so early as the thirteenth century, see J. A. H. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 194.

It may be useful to note here that **čat** is never used in the dialect either as a rel. pronoun or as a conjunction.

7. Indefinite.

§ 357.

sum *some*, **sumdi** *somebody*, **sumet** (lit. *somewhat*) *something, anything*.

out *aught*, **nout** *naught, nought*.

inif, pl. **iniu** *enough*: **gim(ə) ə feu**, **nee čaz ed iniu** *give me a few, no thou hast had enough*, **eje briəd inif?** *have you enough bread?*

feu *few*, **ivri** *every*, **oel** *all*, **els** *else*, **sitš** *such*, **uče(r)** *other*.

oēče(r) (OE. *āwđer*) *either*, **noēče(r)** (OE. *nāwđer*) *neither*. Cp. § 123 and see Sievers, OE. Grammar, §§ 346, 348.

oni (OE. *ænig*) *any*, **onibodi** *anybody*, **moni** (OE. *monig*, *manig*) *many*. The **o** in **oni** is due to the influence of the **o** in **moni**. The following question would be quite unintelligible to anyone but a North countryman: **ez or ez oni on je oni on je?** inquired a man of a company of persons, after asking two or three of them individually for a match, lit. *has any on you any on you? i. e. has any of you got one?*

tuen (lit. *the one*) *one of two or more*: **tuen on jez dunt**

one of you has done it. Strong form **wun** (nom.), weak form **ən** (obj.) *one*, pl. **ənz** *ones*, **wun ɛnuʃə(r)** *one another*, **nue**, weak form **nə** *no*, **nuebdi** *nobody*; **nuən** *none* has no weak form. **nuən** is often used in the place of **net**: **am nuən bān** *I am not going*, **ʃat nuən tful ət tɛ liuks** *you are not the fool you look to be*.

u(ə)-ivə(r) *whoever*, **wotivə(r)** or **tʃiuz-wot** (lit. *choose-what*) *whatever*.

CHAPTER X.

VERBS.

§ 358. The verbs are divided into two great classes :— Strong and Weak—according to the formation of the preterite and past participle. Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

§ 359. The strong verbs form their preterite by means of ablaut. In order to facilitate the use of the book for philologists I have sub-divided them into seven classes and have adopted the order given in Sievers' Old English Grammar, §§ 382-97.

A great many verbs which were strong in OE. are now weak in the dialect ; on the other hand a few, which were originally weak, have become strong. The lists contain all the strong verbs in general use. When two forms of the preterite and past participle are in existence, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets. Some verbs, which now usually have a weak preterite, still retain the old strong past participle, e. g. *feseen forsaken*, *fretn* beside *frieted fretted*, *mourned*.

There is only one form for the singular and plural of the preterite just as in lit. Engl. The present and

the past participle of all classes have, as a rule, been regularly developed from their corresponding OE. forms. But the preterite of some classes, e. g. the whole of the first and second, are new formations made after the analogy of the pret. of the fourth and partly the fifth classes. Some few verbs have passed over from one class into another. All these points will be discussed in their proper places.

§ 360. The preterite and the past participle of weak verbs end in -*ed*, -*d*, -*t*. See §§ 380-3. Many verbs, originally weak, have both a strong and a weak past participle. See §§ 380-3.

A. Strong Verbs.

§ 361.

CLASS I.

	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. <i>i</i>		<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
W. <i>ai</i>		<i>ee</i>		<i>i</i>
	<i>aid hide</i>	<i>eed</i>		<i>idn</i>
	<i>baid endure</i>	<i>beed</i>		<i>bidn</i>
	<i>bait bite</i>	<i>beet</i>		<i>bitn</i>
	<i>daiv dive</i>	<i>deev</i>		<i>divm</i>
	<i>dlaid glide</i>	<i>dleed</i>		<i>dlidn</i>
	<i>draiv drive</i>	<i>dreev</i>		<i>drivm</i>
	<i>kontraiv contrive</i>	<i>kontreev</i>		<i>kontrivm</i>
	<i>raid ride</i>	<i>reed</i>		<i>ridn</i>
	<i>rait write</i>	<i>reet</i>		<i>ritn</i>
	<i>raiv tear</i>	<i>reev</i>		<i>rivm</i>
	<i>raiz rise</i>	<i>reez</i>		<i>rizn</i>
	<i>slaid slide</i>	<i>sleed</i>		<i>slidn</i>
	<i>straid stride</i>	<i>streed</i>		<i>stridn</i>
	<i>straik strike</i>	<i>streek</i>		<i>strukn</i>
	<i>straiv strive</i>	<i>streev</i>		<i>strivm</i>

<i>Infīn.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
šain <i>shine</i>	šeen		šaind
šait <i>cacare</i>	šeet		šitn
praiv <i>thrive</i>	preøv		privm

§ 362. The pret. of all verbs of this class is a new formation. The *ee* can arise neither from the OE. singular nor plural form. From the former we should have had *uø* (§ 122) and from the latter *i* (§ 89). The only classes of verbs which regularly have *ee* in the pret. are the fourth (§ 371) and part of the fifth (§ 372). To merely say that the pret. of Class I has been formed after the analogy of Class IV and part of Class V would be avoiding the real difficulty, which consists in giving a satisfactory reason why they should have had such an influence, seeing that they had no forms in common with Class I in OE. One might perhaps be inclined to think that the identity of the vowel in a pp. like *ʒifenn given* (Ormulum, i. 71) with that in a pp. like *risenn risen* (Ormulum, ii. 47) may have given rise to the new formation. But that would not do. In the dialect the pret. of *gi(v)* is *ga(v)*=Ormulum *ʒaff*, *gaff*, ii. 16. At present I cannot even suggest a satisfactory explanation.

§ 363. The pp. of *šain* is always weak, and I have also occasionally heard a weak pret. *šaind*. For the pret. of *straik* I have often heard *striuk*, *strak*, the latter of which seems to be a shortening of the Northern ME. form *strāk*; the pp. of this verb corresponds to the early Mod. Engl. lit. form *struken*.

§ 364. *aid* (OE. *hȳdan*) and *daiv* (OE. *dȳfan*) were weak in OE. *raiv* (O. Icel. *rīfa*) and *praiv* (O. Icel. *prīfa*) are of Norse origin. *straiv* (O. Fr. *estriver*) was already strong in ME. *kontraiv* must be a late borrowing from

lit. Engl., the ME. form **controuen** (u = v) from O. Fr. **controver** would not have become **kontraiv** in the W. dialect.

CLASS II.

§ 365.	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. ēo		ēa	u	o
W. ī		ee		o
iu (§ 187)		ee		o
ī		eu		ou
frīz <i>freeze</i>		frees		frozn
tlīv <i>cleave, split</i>		tleev		tlovnm
tšīuz <i>choose</i>		tšees		tšozn
flī <i>fly</i>		fleu		floun

§ 366. All the other verbs, which formerly belonged to this class, have become weak.

OE. **cēosan** would regularly have become ***tšīz** (§ 187) in the dialect. **tšīuz** seems to be an early borrowing of the ME. West Midland form **chūsen**, which would regularly become **tšīuz** in the dialect.

The **ee** in the pret. is not regularly developed from OE. **ēa**, which has become **ie** (§ 179), but is due to the analogy of such verbs as **weev** *wove*, **need** *kneaded*. Just as we have the pp. **wovm**, **nodn**, pret. **weev**, **need**, so to the pp. **frozn**, **tlovnm**, **tšozn** there has been formed a new preterite **frees**, **tleev**, **tšees**.

CLASS III.

§ 367. This class had in OE. four sub-divisions:

1. Verbs having a medial nasal + a consonant.

- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|------------------------|---|
| 2. | „ | „ | l + | „ |
| 3. | „ | „ | r or h + | „ |

4. When the stem vowel was followed by two consonants other than a nasal, l, r, or h + a consonant. Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 386-9.

All verbs originally belonging to 2. have become weak. The same also applies to sub-divisions 3. and 4. with the exception of *feit fight*, and *brust burst*.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
1. OE. i	o (a)	u	u
W. i	a		u
i	e (§ 59)		u
begin <i>begin</i>	began		begun
spin <i>spin</i>	span		spun
swim <i>swim</i>	swom § 58 (swam)		swum
win <i>win</i>	wan (won)		wun
bind <i>bind</i>	ban		bun
find <i>find</i>	fan		fun
wind <i>wind</i>	wan (won)		wun
run <i>run</i>	ran		run
2. brin <i>bring</i>	bren		brun
din <i>reproach, revile</i>	den		dun
flin <i>throw</i>	flen		flun
in <i>hang</i>	en		un
rin <i>wring</i>	ren		run
rin <i>ring</i>	ren		run
sin <i>sing</i>	sen		sun
slin <i>sling</i>	slen		slun
spring <i>spring</i>	spren		sprun
stin <i>sting</i>	sten		stun
string <i>string</i>	stren		strun
swin <i>swing</i>	swen		swun
clin <i>cling</i>	clen		clun
drink <i>drink</i>	drenk		druk

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
sink <i>sink</i>	senk		sukn
slink <i>slink</i>	slenk		slukn
stink <i>stink</i>	stenk		stukn
šrink <i>shrink</i>	šrenk		šrukн

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
3. W. Sax. eo	ea	u	o
O. North. e	æ	u	o
W. ei (§ 87)	ee		o
feit <i>fight</i>	feet		fotn

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
4. OE. e	æ	u	o
W. u		a	u
brust <i>burst</i>		brast	brusn
prust <i>thrust</i>		prast	prusn

§ 368. On the present form **run**, see Sweet NE. Gr. § 1382. The pret. and pp. **ban**, **fan**, **wan** and **bun**, **fun**, **wun** are very widely spread in the Midland and Northern dialects, see the Word-lists in Ellis, EEPr. v. The pret. **brerн** and pp. **brun** are no doubt new formations after the analogy of forms like **ser**, **sur**; the weak pret. and pp. **brout** is also much used, but is not so common as the strong forms. **in** (ME. **hengen**, O. Icel. **hengja**) and **rin** (OE. (h)**ringan**) were originally weak verbs. **din** (O. Icel. **dengja**), **flin** (O. Icel. **flengja**), **slin** (O. Icel. **slöngva**) are of Norse origin. **strin** seems to be quite a modern formation from the noun.

The pp. of verbs whose stem ends in **nk** regularly lose the medial guttural **n** in the W. dialect. I have assumed in the Phonology (§ 274) that **n** has disappeared through assimilation before the following **kн** in the pp. of these verbs. This is possible and not at all improbable; but we must not exclude the possibility that some of these pp. may be

of Norse origin, e.g. *drukŋ* (O. Icel. *drukkenn*), *sukŋ* (O. Icel. *sokkenn*), and that the remaining *ŋk*-verbs may have followed the analogy of these. This is a point well worth investigating, but of the five verbs ending in *-ŋk* in the present and preterite, Ellis has unfortunately only the pp. of *drink*, and I have accordingly read through all his Word-lists, Dialect tests, and Comparative Specimens to see how far the form without medial *ŋ* in the pp. extends. The following is the result: The medial *ŋ* is retained in all the Eastern, Western, and Southern dialects, with the exception of South Devon (Ellis, p. 163), which is probably a mistake on the part of Dr. Ellis' informant. All the Border Midland, Southern, North Midland, Western Mid Midland, Eastern Mid Midland, East Mid Midland, Western South Midland, Eastern South Midland, Northern North Midland, and Western North Midland dialects have medial *ŋ* except at Colne Valley and at Burnley, where double forms—without and with medial *ŋ*—seem to occur (pp. 334 and 351). In the Eastern North Midland division to which my own dialect belongs the form without medial *ŋ* is found at Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury which have *drufen*, at Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Rotherham, Elland, and Calverley where the nasal has disappeared before the following *k*; but medial *ŋ* occurs at Barnsley, Sheffield, and Marsden (seven miles S. W. of Huddersfield). In the East Northern division, Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washam River district, South Cleveland, North East Coast, Danby and Skelton in Cleveland, and Whitby, all have the form without medial *ŋ*, but Market Weighton, Holderness, Malton, Pickering, and The Moors, Sutton and Goole retain the medial guttural nasal. All the West Northern dialects—for which there are a great number of examples in Ellis—lose the

medial *n* except at Upper Swaledale. The same is also the case for the North Northern dialects, except that at Newcastle-on-Tyne the medial *n* seems to exist (Ellis, p. 647). For the Lowland division of English dialect districts in Scotland only forms without medial *n* are registered. It is however important to note that Dr. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, has pp. *drunk* beside *drukken*, and only *slunk*, *stunk*, *sunk*, *schrunk* (*serynkit*). This would certainly seem to favour the idea that our *druk* is of Norse origin, and that the pp. of the four other verbs have been formed after the analogy of it.

In feet *fought* the vowel of the singular seems to have been carried over to the plural at an early period. The latter form then became generalized. The short *o* in the pp. is quite regular (§ 100).

On the forms *brust*, *brast*, *brusn* see Sweet, *NE. Gr.* § 1354, and on *prust* (*ME. prusten*, *prusten*, *O. Icel. prýsta*) see loc. cit. § 1348.

CLASS IV.

§ 369.

	<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
W. Sax.	e	æ	ǣ	o
O. North.	e	æ	ē	o
1. W.	ei (§ 87)	ee (§ 70)	ou (§ 103)	
	<i>steil steal</i>	<i>steel</i>	<i>stoun</i>	
2. W.	ie (§ 75)	ee	oe (§ 104a)	
	<i>bie(r) bear</i>	<i>bee(r)</i>	<i>boen</i>	
	<i>swie(r) swear</i>	<i>swee(r)</i>	<i>swoen</i>	
	<i>šie(r) shear</i>	<i>šee(r)</i>	<i>šoen</i>	
	<i>wie(r) wear</i>	<i>wee(r)</i>	<i>woen</i>	
3. W.	e (§ 88)	a	o	
	<i>brek break</i>	<i>brak</i>	<i>brokn</i>	

§ 370. To this class also belongs **kum** (OE. **cuman**) *come*, **kom** (**kam**), **kum** (**kumd**).

§ 371. **wie(r)** (OE. **werian**) was originally a weak verb, but has become strong after the analogy of **bie(r)**, **šie(r)**. Similarly **swie(r)** (OE. **swerian**, pret. sing. **swōr**) has passed over from the sixth class into this.

The **ee** in the preterite is due to levelling. The vowel of the pret. singular of strong verbs was often extended to the plural already in ME. Then this **a** being in an open syllable became lengthened and was afterwards levelled out into the singular; so that the preterites with **ee** in this and the fifth class are really generalized plural stem-forms. The old pret. pl. form with **ǣ** (**ē**) would have become **ī** in the dialect, § 130. On the other hand, **brak** is the old sing. form. The same is also the case with the **a** in the pret. of verbs of Class V.

CLASS V.

§ 372.

	<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
W. Sax.	e	æ	ǣ	e
O. North.	e	æ	ē	e
1. W.	ei (§ 87)	ee (§ 371)		o
	neid knead	need		nodn
	speik speak	speek (spak)		spokn
	spreid spread	spreed		sprodn
	treid tread	treed		trodn
	weiv weave	weev		wovm
2. W.	ei (§ 87)	ee		e (§ 73)
	eit eat	eet		etn
3. W.	e (§ 88)	a (§ 371)		e (§ 73)
	get get	gat		getn
4. W.	i (§ 77)	a (§ 371)		ī
	gi(v)	ga(v)		gīn (§ 79)

1. **spreid** was a weak verb in OE. (**sprædan**, pret. **sprædde**). The pp. of this sub-division have been formed after the analogy of verbs of the fourth class. The pret. **spak** is very often heard.

2. The pret. **eet** is a new formation made after the analogy of **weiv**, etc. The OE. form sing. **ǣt**, pl. **ǣton** would have become ***it** (§ 130).

4. Instead of **gīn** I have very often heard **gen**, which is no doubt due to the influence of **etn**, **getn**.

§ 373.

	<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret. Sg.</i>	<i>Pret. Pl.</i>	<i>P.P.</i>
W. Sax.	i	æ	ǣ	e
O. North.	i	æ	ē	e
1. W.	i	a (§ 371)		i
	<i>bid invite to a funeral</i>	<i>bad</i>		<i>bidn</i>
	<i>it hit</i>	<i>at</i>		<i>itn</i>
	<i>nit knit</i>	<i>nat</i>		<i>nitn</i>
	<i>sit sit</i>	<i>sat</i>		<i>sitn</i>
	<i>slit slit</i>	<i>slat</i>		<i>slitn</i>
	<i>spit spit</i>	<i>spat</i>		<i>spitn</i>
	<i>split split</i>	<i>splat</i>		<i>splitn</i>
2. W.	i	e (§ 59)		u
	<i>dig dig</i>	<i>deg</i>		<i>dug</i>
3. W.	i	a		u
	<i>stik stick</i>	<i>stak</i>		<i>stuk</i>

1. **it** (O. Icel. *hitta find*), **nit**, **slit**, **spit**, **split** were originally weak verbs. I have also often heard the weak pret. and pp. **nited**; **bidn** (OE. **beden**, but already ME. **bidden** with **i** from the present), **sitn** (OE. **seten**, but already ME. **siten**).

2. **dig** was formerly weak (ME. **diggen**, **diggede**). The pp. **dug** is difficult to explain. According to Sweet, NE.

Gr. § 1370, the lit. form **dug** does not occur until towards the end of the Early Modern English period (1500-1650). The pp. **dugn** is also sometimes heard.

3. **stik** (OE. **stician**) was originally a weak verb. The pp. **stuk** may owe its **u** to the influence of **stun**, Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1376.

§ 374. To this class also belongs **sī** (OE. **sēon**) *see*, pret. **soe** (§ 63), pp. **sīn** = Old North. **gesēn**.

CLASS VI.

§ 375.	<i>Infín.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
	OE. a	ō	a
1. W. a (§ 71)		iu (§ 164)	ee (§ 312, 4)
	tak take	tiuk	teēn
2. W. oe (§ 63)		iu (§ 164 c)	oe
	droe draw	driu	droen
3. W. a		ui (§ 163)	ui
	stand stand	stuid	stuidn

stuidn has its vowel from the preterite. A weak pret. and pp. **standed** is not uncommon. I have also heard a pp. **studn**, the vowel of which seems to be due to the influence of the literary form **stood**.

§ 376.	<i>Infín.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
	OE. ēa	ō	a(æ)
	W. ee	iu (§ 164 c)	ee (§ 65)
	slee slay	sliu	sleen

The **ee** of the present is from the past participle. **šak** *shake* generally has the weak pret. and pp. **šakt**; but pret. **šiuk** (§ 164) and pp. **šakn** are not uncommon. The pp. of **fesak** *forsake* is **feseen** (§ 312, 4).

CLASS VII.

§ 377.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. ā	ēo	ā
W. oə (§ 123)	iu (§ 190)	oə
bloə <i>blow</i>	bliu	bloen
kroə <i>crow</i>	kriu	kroen
moə <i>mow</i>	miu	moen
noə <i>know</i>	niu	noen
snoə <i>snow</i>	sniu	snoen
s'oe <i>sow</i>	siu	soen
poə <i>thaw</i>	piu	poen
proə <i>throw</i>	priu	proen

poə was a weak verb in OE. (pāwian or pāwan); snoə (OE. snāw) is the noun used as a verb, which has formed its pret. and pp. after the analogy of the other verbs of this class.

§ 378.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. ō	ēo	ō
W. ou (§ 166)	iu (§ 190)	ou
grou <i>grow</i>	griu	groun

§ 379.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
OE. ea(a)	ēo	ea(a)
W. oə (§ 62)	e (§ 192 a)	oə
foel <i>fall</i>	fel	foeln

B. Weak Verbs.

§ 380. The weak verbs are best classified according to their formation of the preterite and past participle. We thus distinguish three classes:—1. -əd, 2. -d, 3. -t.

Paragraphs 381-3 contain a fairly complete list of verbs which either differ from literary English in the preterite and past participle, or are interesting from other points of view. When the pret. or pp. has two forms, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets.

CLASS I.

§ 381. The preterite and past participle generally take -*ed* when the present ends in -*t* or -*d*. But a few verbs with short stem-vowels, whose present ends in -*t*, have the same form in the pret. and past participle; and a few others with a long stem vowel in the present have a short vowel in the pret. and pp.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
bend <i>bend</i>	bended (bent)	bended (bent)
bīld <i>build</i>	belt (bīlded)	belt (bīlded)
blīd <i>bleed</i>	blided (bled)	blided (bled)
bluid <i>bleed</i>	bluided	bluided
brīd <i>breed</i>	brīded (bred)	brīded (bred)
ōt <i>hurt</i>	ōt (ōted)	ōt (ōtn)
fīd <i>feed</i>	fīded (fed)	fīded (fedn)
grund <i>grind</i>	grunded	grunded
kest <i>cast</i>	kest (kested)	kested (kesn)
lied <i>lead</i>	lieded (led)	lieded (ledn)
melt <i>melt</i>	melted	melted
od <i>hold</i>	oded (eld)	odn (oded)
send <i>send</i>	sended (sent)	sended (sent)
skrat <i>scratch</i>	skrated	skrated (skratn)
spend <i>spend</i>	spended (spent)	spended (spent)
šuit <i>shoot</i>	šuited	šuited (šotn)
kost <i>cost</i>	kost (kosted)	kost (kosted)
kut <i>cut</i>	kut	kut , kutn)

<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
let <i>let</i>	let	let (letn)
put <i>put</i>	put	put (putn)
set <i>set</i>	set	set (setn)
šut <i>shut</i>	šut	šut (šutn)
wed <i>marry</i>	wed	wed (wedn)
wet <i>wet</i>	wet (weted)	wet (weted, wetn)
līt <i>light</i>	let (līted)	let (letn, līted)
mīt <i>meet</i>	met	met (metn)
rīd <i>read</i>	red	red
tīm <i>pour out</i>	tem (temd)	tem (temd)
biet <i>beat</i>	bet	bet (betn)
friet <i>fret</i>	frietēd (fret)	frietēd (fretn)
swiet <i>sweat</i>	swietēd (swet)	swietēd (swetn)
tšiet <i>cheat</i>	tšietēd (tšet)	tšietēd (tšetn)
triet <i>treat</i>	tret (trietēd)	tretn (trietēd)

When I was a boy pret. and pp. forms like *bent*, *bled*, *led*, *spent*, etc., were hardly ever heard, but through the spread of elementary education they are now much used, especially among the younger generation, and will no doubt in the course of time entirely supplant the other forms. In like manner the strong pp. *kesn*, *putn*, *fretn*, etc., were far more common twenty years ago than they are now.

Forms like *let lit*, *lighted*, *belt* have been formed after the analogy of such pret. as *met*, *red*, etc., where the vowel was shortened before the double consonants (e.g. pret. *mette*) already in ME.

CLASS II.

§ 382. The preterite and past participle generally take -d when the present ends in a voiced sound other than -d.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
bōn <i>burn</i>	bōnd	bōnd
briu <i>brew</i>	briud	briud (briun)
diel <i>deal</i>	dield (delt)	dield (delt)
driem <i>dream</i>	driemd (dremt)	driemd (dremt)
en <i>hang</i>	end	end
eu <i>hew</i>	eud	eud (eun)
fīl <i>feel</i>	fīld (felt)	fīld (felt)
iē(r) <i>hear</i>	iəd	iəd
leē <i>lay</i>	leed	leed (leēn)
lein <i>lean</i>	leind	leind
len <i>lend</i>	lend	lend
lien <i>learn</i>	liend	liend
liēv <i>leave</i>	liēvd (left)	liēvd (left)
lig <i>lie down</i>	ligd	ligd
loiz <i>lose</i>	loizd (lost)	loizd (lost)
mien <i>mean</i>	miend (ment)	miend (ment)
nīl <i>kneel</i>	nīld (nelt)	nīld (nelt)
riu <i>rue</i>	riud	riud (riun)
see <i>say</i>	sed	sed
sel <i>sell</i>	seld	seld
seu <i>sew</i>	seud	seud (seun)
siez <i>seize</i>	siezd (seēz)	siezd
smel <i>smell</i>	smeld	smeld
spel <i>spell</i>	speld	speld
spil <i>spill</i>	spild	spild
spoil <i>spoil</i>	spoild	spoild
streu <i>strew</i>	streud	streud (streun)
swel <i>swell</i>	sweld	sweld
šēov <i>shave</i>	šēovd	šēovd
šeu <i>show</i>	šeud	šeud (šeun)
šū <i>shoe</i>	šūd	šūd
tel <i>tell</i>	teld	teld

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
<i>tlueð clothe</i>	<i>tlueðð</i>	<i>tlueðð</i>
<i>tſeu chew</i>	<i>tſeud</i>	<i>tſeud (tſeun)</i>
<i>wokn wake, awake</i>	<i>woknð</i>	<i>woknð</i>
<i>gue go</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>guen</i>
<i>bai buy</i>	<i>bout</i>	<i>bout</i>

The forms *delt, felt, left, lost, ment, nelt*, and in Class III *krept, slept, swept*, are the literary forms which are now very commonly used among the younger people.

We regularly use *lee, leed, leed (leen)* in speaking of a hen, pigeon, etc.; but in other cases *lee* and *lig* are equally used transitively or intransitively without any distinction in meaning: *al lig i bed wol brekfes(t) taim I will lie in bed until breakfast time, al lig me dān I will lie (me) down, al lig it e tflue(r) I will lay it on the floor, ðe leed or ligd wol ðe we te lat fe ðe wāk they lay until they were too late for their work, wi ligd or leed ez dān we lay down, ðev leed (ligd or leen) oel tbleem e mī they laid all the blame on me.*

CLASS III.

§ 383. The preterite and past participle generally take *t* when the present ends in a voiceless consonant other than *t*.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
<i>elp help</i>	<i>elpt</i>	<i>elpt</i>
<i>katš catch</i>	<i>katšt</i>	<i>katšt</i>
<i>kriþ creep</i>	<i>kriþt (krept)</i>	<i>kriþt (krepn, krept)</i>
<i>kus kiss</i>	<i>kust</i>	<i>kust (kusn)</i>
<i>reik reach</i>	<i>reikt</i>	<i>reikt</i>
<i>slip sleep</i>	<i>slīpt (slept)</i>	<i>slīpt (slept)</i>
<i>swīp sweep</i>	<i>swīpt (swept)</i>	<i>swīpt swept</i>

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>P. P.</i>
šap <i>shape</i>	šapt	šapt
teitš <i>teach</i>	teitšt (tout)	teitšt (tout)
weš <i>wash</i>	wešt	wešt
pip <i>peep</i>	pept (pīpt)	pept (pīpt)
sīk <i>seek</i>	sīkt (sout)	sīkt (sout)
pink <i>think</i>	pout	pout
wēk <i>work</i>	wēkt (rout)	wēkt (rout)
mak <i>make</i>	meed	meed

Verbal Endings.

§ 384.

Present : The first person singular and the whole of the plural generally have no special endings, except when the subject of the sentence is a relative pronoun. See § 395, p. 156. The second and third persons singular end in *-ez*, *-z*, *-s*. *-ez* is used after the spirants *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, as *misez missest*, *misses*, *raizez risest*, *rises*, *wišež wishest*, *wishes*, *sinžez singest*, *singes*; *-z* after voiced sounds, as *weivz weavest*, *weaves*, *lenz lendest*, *lends*, *duz dost*, *does*; *-s* after other voiceless sounds, as *elps helpest*, *helps*, *wēks workest*, *works*, *eits eatest*, *eats*.

On the personal endings of the verbs *have* and *be*, see §§ 395, 6.

Preterite : The singular and plural of strong verbs have no special endings. The singular and plural of weak verbs end in *-ed*, *-d*, *-t* for all persons. See §§ 380, 385.

Participles : The present participle ends in *-in* (§§ 276, 385). The past participle of strong verbs ends in vocalic *-n* after dentals (§ 269), *-ŋ* after gutturals (§ 271), and *-m* after labials (§ 270). The past participle of weak verbs ends in *-ed*, *-d*, *-t*. See §§ 381-3.

Infinitive: The infinitive has no special ending just as in lit. Engl.

Paradigms.

§ 385. The conjugation of *en hang* and *brek break* will serve as models.

Indic. Pres. Sing. 1.	en	brek
2.	enz	breks
3.	enz ^v	breks
Plur.	en	brek
Indic. Pret. Sing.	end	brak
Plur.	end	brak
Imper. Sing. and Plur.	en	brek
Infin.	en	brek
Pres. Part.	enin	brekin
Past Part.	end	brokn

§ 386. The future, the perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed the same as in lit. Engl. The subjunctive mood has entirely gone out of use.

§ 387. TABLE OF TENSES.

Tense.	Indefinite.	Imperfect and Continuous.	Perfect.	Perfect and Continuous.
Present	a brək <i>I break</i>	am brekin <i>I am breaking</i>	av brokɔ <i>I have broken</i>	av b̃in brekin <i>I have been break- ing</i>
Preterite	a brak <i>I broke</i>	a we brekin <i>I was breaking</i>	ad brokɔ <i>I had broken</i>	ad b̃in brekin <i>I had been break- ing</i>
Future	as brək <i>I shall break</i>	as b̃i brekin <i>I shall be breaking</i>	as e brokɔ <i>I shall have broken</i>	as e b̃in brekin <i>I shall have been breaking</i>

NOTE.—The full conjugation of the auxiliary verbs will be found : *shall* (§ 391), *will* (§ 397), *be* (§ 396), *have* (§ 395).

C. Minor Groups.

a. Preterite-Presents.

§ 388. In tenses where it has been thought advisable I have added the affirmative and interrogative forms with and without negation. On the various forms assumed by the personal pronouns, see § 350.

1. *can*.

§ 389. Pres. strong form **kan**, weak forms **kən**, **kr**. Pret. strong form **kud**, weak **kəd**. The weak form **kr** is mostly used in combination with the personal pronouns.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i	kan or kr	wī, wē kan or kr
ǎ, tǎ, tē	„ „	jī, jē „ „
ī, ē	„ „	ǎē, ēē, ēē „ „
šū, šē	„ „	

Pret.

ai, a, i	kud or kəd	wī, wē kud or kəd
ǎ, tǎ, tē	„ „	jī, jē „ „
ī, ē	„ „	ǎē, ēē, ēē „ „
šū, šē	„ „	

Affirmatively with *not*.

Pres.	Pret.
ai, a, i, kanet or kānt etc.	ai, a, i kudnt or kədnet etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.

kan ai, a, i ?
 „ čă, tă, te ?
 „ ĭ, e ? }
 „ šŭ, še ? }

Plur.

kan wĭ, we ?
 „ jĭ, je ?
 „ čee, če, če ?

Pret.

kud ai, a, i ?
 etc.

kud wĭ, we ?
 etc.

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres

kanet or kănt ai, a, i ?
 etc.

Pret.

kudnt ai, a, i ?
 etc.

kud, kəd are used both as an infin. and past part., unless, as is more probable, the use of kud, kəd, in such cases, is due to the contamination of two constructions, as a ius tē kud or kəd diut *I used to be able to do it*, ad e dunt if id kud (never kəd) *I would have done it if I had been able*.

2. dare.

§ 390. This verb presents no special peculiarities. I shall therefore only give the first person singular of each tense in use. The final t regularly disappears in the pret. before the following negative. A weak form dē only occurs in the phrase a dē see *I dare say*.

Present.

ai, a, i dăe(r)
 ai, a, i dărent
 dăer ai, i ?
 dărent ai, i ?

Pret.

ai, a, i dĕst
 ai, a, i, dĕsnt
 dĕst ai, i ?
 dĕsnt ai, i ?

3. *shall*.

§ 391. Present strong form *sal*, weak *sl*, *s*. Pret. strong form *sud*, weak *səd*, *st*.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a sal	wī sal
aisl, asl	wīsl, wesl
ais, as	wīs, wes
čā sal	jī, je sal
čāsl	jīsl, jesl
čas	jīs, jes
ī sal	
isl	
is	
sū, še sal	če, če, če sal
šūsl, šesl	čeosl, čosl, čosl
šūs, šes	čeos, čes, čes

Pret.

ai, a, i sud or səd	wī, we sud or səd
aist, ast	wīst, west
čā, tā, te sud or səd	jī, je sud or səd
čast	jīst, jest
ī, e sud or səd	
ist	
šū, še sud or səd	če, če, če sud or səd
šūst, šest	čeost, čest, čest

Affirmatively with *not*.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a salnt	}	wĩ, wē, salnt
ai, a sânt		wĩ, wē sânt
aisl, asl net		wĩsl, wesl net
ais, as net		wĩs, wes net
čā salnt or sânt	}	jĩ, je salnt or sânt
čāsl, čās net		jĩsl, jesl net
ĩ salnt, sânt	}	jĩs, jes net
ĩsl, ĩs net		}
šũ, še salnt or sânt		čee, čē, čē salnt or sânt
šũsl, šesl net		„ „ „ slnet
šũs, šes net		čees, čēs, čēs net

Pret.

ai, a sudnt	}	wĩ, wē sudnt
ai, a sed net		wĩ, wē sed net
aist, ast net		wĩst, west net
etc.		etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

sal ai, a, i ?		sal wĩ, wē ?
„ čā, tā, te ?		„ jĩ, je ?
„ ĩ, e ?	}	„ čee, čē, čē ?
„ šũ, še ?		

Pret.

sud ai, a, i ?		sud wĩ, wē ?
„ čā, tā, te ?		„ jĩ, je ?
„ ĩ, e ?	}	„ čee, čē, čē ?
„ šũ, še ?		

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres.

salnt, sânt ai, a, i ?
etc.

Pret.

sudnt ai, a, i ?
etc.

There is no difference in meaning between the weak forms *s*, *st* and *sl*, *sed*, but only in usage. The former are never used except in combination with the personal pronouns, as *aset bi te-moen I shall have it by to-morrow*, *ðest e guen if ðed kud they should have gone if they had been able*, *tmen sl (never s) et the men shall have it*, *ði faðe sed gim(e) e feu thy father should give me a few*. But the difference in use between *s* and *sl*, *st* and *sed* in combination with pronouns seems to be due to sentence rhythm.

4. *must*.

§ 392. To express lit. Engl. *must*, we have two words which are never confounded in use :

1. Strong form *mun*, weak *mên* which expresses a necessity dependent upon the will of a person, as *a mên get mi wāk duin bi te-nīt I must get my work done by to-night*, *je mên tel im wen e kumz et as bi bak inā you must tell him when he comes that I shall be back presently*, *mun i gue wi je ? must I go with you ?*

mun, *mên* is sometimes used to express *may*, *can*, as *ða mên pink wot te laiks bed ðal e te diut you may think what you like but you will have to do it*, *mun ðe stop ?* may mean either *must they stop ?* or *may they stop ?*

The weak form *med* (§ 393), which generally means *might*, is also used as a preterite of *mun*, as *šu sed ðe med oeðer eit ðat e diu bāt out she said they must either eat that or do without anything*.

mun is of Norse origin, O. Icel. inf. *mono*, later *munu*

shall, will, pres. sing. **mon**, later **mun**, pl. **monom**, later **munum**, pret. **munda**. The verb presents no peculiarities, so that only the first person is given here.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i mun or mēn	wī, we mun or mēn
„ „ „ munet or muēt	„ „ munet or muēt
mun ai, a, i ?	mun wī, we ?
munet or muēt ai, a, i ?	munet or muēt wī, we ?

2. For *must* we use **must**, which has no weak form, when it implies a logical or natural necessity, as **ða must bi e fuil if tē pinks im bān tē diut you must be (surely you are) a fool if you think I am going to do it, ðem et sed ðat must bi rēn i ðer iēd those who said that must be wrong in their heads**. In these and similar cases **mun, mēn** is never used. Cp. **ðe múst kum ðis wee** = Lowland Scotch *thay byd cum thys way* with **ðe mēn kum ðis wee** = Lowland Scotch *thay mæn cum this way*; the former implying that there is no other road, the latter that they are under personal restraint to take this road. On the Scotch verbs *byd, mæn* see The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by Dr. Murray, pp. 217-8.

5. *may*.

§ 393. Present strong form **mee**, weak **mē**. Preterite strong form **mud**, weak **mēd**. **mud** is a new formation made after the analogy of **sud should, kud could**.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

<i>Sing.</i>	Present.	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i mee or mē		wī, we mee or mē
etc.		etc.

<i>Sing.</i>	Pret.	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i mud or med etc.		wī, we mud or med etc.

Affirmatively with <i>not</i> .	
Pres.	Pret.
ai, a, i meent	ai a, i mudnt
„ „ „ menet etc.	„ „ „ mudnet etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

<i>Sing.</i>	Present.	<i>Plur.</i>
me ai, a, i ?		mee wī, we ?
mee dā, tā, te ? etc.		etc.

The *e* of *mee* regularly disappears before a following vowel (§ 193). After the analogy of *me i ? may I ? me e ? may he ?* I have often heard *me we ? may we ?* etc.

Pret.	
mud ai, a, i ? etc.	mud wī, we ? etc.

Interrogatively with <i>not</i> .	
Pres.	Pret.
meent ai, a, i ? etc.	mudnt ai, a, i ? etc.

6. *ought*.

§ 394. *out* remains uninflected for all persons, so that it will be sufficient to give the first person only: ai, a, i *out*, *outnt* or *outnet*. *out* ai, a, i ? *outnt* ai, a, i ?

b. *have.*

§ 395. Pres. strong forms **ev**, **e**, weak **ev**, **e**. Pret. strong form **ed**, weak **ed**.

The present forms **e**, **e** are regular only before consonants: as **e dun inā** *I shall have done presently*, **a sed e guen bed fe ōi** *I should have gone but for thee*; but we always say, **ai ev em** *I have them*, as **et or ev it** *I shall have it*. In combination with the pronouns we now use the **v** form before consonants, as **a or av dun** *I have done*.

The vowel disappears in the weak forms **ev**, **ed** when preceded by the nom. of the personal pronouns, **av** *I have*, **wiv** *we have*, etc. **ad sīn im** *I had seen him*, but **tmen ed sīn im** *the men had seen him*. And sometimes the verb disappears altogether, as **a faiv on em** *I have five of them*, **Ōe guen uem** *they have gone home*, **Ōe stoun em** *they have stolen them*, **wi or we funt** *we have found it*; but **wi or we fant** *we found it*. See § 249.

The final **-z** in the second and third persons singular becomes **-s** before voiceless consonants, as **este ?** *hast thou?* **if tes te diut** *if thou hast to do it*.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

<i>Sing.</i>	Present.	<i>Plur.</i>
{ ai, a, i ev or e aiv, av, iv }		{ wī we ev or e wiv wev }
{ ōā, tā, te ez ōāz, tāz, tez }		{ jī, je ev or e jiv,jev }
{ ī, e, ez īz, ez šū, še ez šūz, šez }		{ ōe, ōe ev or e ōeev, ōev, ōev }

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i, ed }		{ wĩ, we ed
aid, ad, id }		{ wĩd, wed
čā, tā, te ed }		{ jĩ, je ed
čād, tād, ted }		{ jĩd, jed
ĩ, e, ed }		
ĩd, ed }		{ če, če ed
šũ, še ed }		{ čeed, čed, čed
šũd, šed }		

Infin. ev, e }
ev, e }

Present Part. evin

Past „ ed, ed, d.

Affirmatively with *not*.

<i>Pres.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>
ai, a, i evnt }	{ ai, a, i ednt
aiv, av, iv net }	{ aid, ad, id net
etc.	etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ev ai, a, i ?		e wĩ or we ?
ez čā, es tā or te ?		e jĩ or je ?
ez ĩ or e ?		
es šũ, es še ? }		e čee, če or če ?
eše ? }		
	<i>Pret.</i>	
ed ai, a, i ?		ed wĩ, we ?
etc.		etc.

Interrogatively with *not*.

Pres.
evnt ai, a, i ?
etc.

Pret.
ednt ai, a, i ?
etc.

The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used in combination with the personal pronouns, in other cases we use *ez, ez, z, s* (after voiceless consonants) just as in the second and third person singular, as *ĉem menz bĭn vari guid tē me those men have been very good to me, tladz ez gen me sumet the boys have given me something, uz ets dun se mitš for im we who have done so much for him, ez ĉem men sĭn ĉe ? have those men seen thee? es taplz guen bad ? have the apples gone bad?* The same also applies to the first person, as *its mĭ ets dunt it is I who have done it, mĭ ets ed se mitš tē baid I who have had so much to endure.*

The endings *-z, -s* for the whole of the singular and plural are now chiefly confined to the verbs *have* and *be* (except the second person singular).

With other verbs we now generally only use these endings in combination with the relative pronoun *et*, as *ĉem men diu ĉe wāk vari wĭl those men do their work very well ; but ĉemz tmen et duz ĉe wāk tbest those are the men who do their work the best.* Although this is the normal usage, I have often heard the *-z, -s* forms used under the same circumstances as they are for the verb *have*. In the older stage of the dialect the endings *-z, -s* must have been used for all verbs in the manner they are still used for *have*. Already in OE. the Northern dialects had the plural ending *-as* beside *-aĉ*, e.g. *bindas* beside *bindaĉ*.

As it may possibly interest some readers to learn how far the plural endings *-z* and *-s* extend, I have examined the Comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v. The

second and sixth sentences contain the point in question. The sentences are: (2) 'Few men die because they are laughed at.' In the dialect specimens this is often rendered as if it were: 'there are few men who die because they are laughed at.' In the statistics given below, this sentence will be referred to as without relative and ending, without relative with ending, with relative and no ending, with relative and ending. The sixth sentence is: (6) 'And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now.'

Western Mid Southern division: at Tedbury with rel. and ending -z; at Ledbury and Much Cowarne without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and endings -s -z; at Eggleton rel. with ending -z. Eastern Mid Southern: at Hamstead Norris without rel. and ending, but (6) rel. without ending; Southampton to Winchester without rel. with ending -z and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Northern Border Southern: at Banbury without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Border Southern: at Handborough rel. and endings -z, -s. Southern Border Southern: no examples. East Southern: at Faversham without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Northern West Southern: at Wellington (West Somerset) (6) with rel. and no ending. South West Southern: at Iddesleigh without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also in South Devon. Western West Southern: no examples. South and North Western divisions: no examples. West Eastern: at Aylesbury (p. 190) *father and mother v (=are) lame*. Mid Eastern: at Ware without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also for Mid Bedfordshire and East Haddon. South and North Eastern divisions: no examples. East Eastern: in South Norfolk, East and West Suffolk without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Border Midland (the county of

Lincolnshire): no examples. Southern North Midland: at Stalybridge without rel. with ending -n, and (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Glossop with rel. and ending -n, and (6) with rel. and *ær* along with the pres. part.; at Chapel-en-le-Frith (2 and 6) with rel. and ending -n. Western North Midland: at Skelmersdale (2 and 6) rel. and endings -z, -s; at Westhoughton without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and *iz* along with the pres. part.; at Leyland without rel. with ending -n; at Burnley without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and -s along with the pres. part. Northern North Midland: at Poulton without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and -s; at Goosnargh without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and *iz* along with the pres. part. Eastern North Midland: at Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, both in (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s; but at Sheffield without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Western Mid Midland: at Middlewich both (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n; the same at Shrigley; at Tarporley (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Burslem (6) with rel. and ending -s. Eastern Mid Midland: at Taddington rel. with ending -n, and (6) rel. with ending -s; at Ashford rel. with ending -z, and (6) rel. with *iz* along with the pres. part.; at Winster (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s; at Ashbourne rel. with ending -z, also without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Brampton (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Repton (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z and -s. East and Western South Midland divisions: no examples. Eastern South Midland: at Cannock Chase without rel. and ending -n, but (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Dudley without rel. with ending -z; at Atherstone (2) and (6) with rel. and no ending, at Waltham without rel. and ending; and (6) with rel. and no

ending. East Northern : at South Ainsty and Holderness without rel. with ending, -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washburn River, South Cleveland, North East Coast, and Market Weighton, all have (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s. West Northern : at Upper Swaledale, the Upper Mining Dales, Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale, Skipton, and Mid Craven, we have for (6) rel. with ending -s ; at Hawes, Kirkby, Lonsdale, Dent, Sedburg, Kendal, Orton, Kirkby Stephen, Crosby Ravensworth, Langwathby, and Keswick, we have the form without rel. with ending -z ; but at Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, Coniston, Long Sleddale, Temple Sowerby, Clifton, Holme Cultram, Carlisle, and Knaresdale without rel. and ending ; at Milburn, Ellonby, and Upper Swaledale with rel. and ending -z. All the dialects in this division have for (6) rel. with ending -s except at Coniston, where we have with rel. and no ending. North Northern : at South Shields (6) with rel. and ending -s ; at Newcastle and Berwick-upon-Tweed without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. The Lowland division : at Bewcastle, Hawick, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, and Dunrossness without rel. and with ending -z, but (6) with rel. and ending -s ; at Stranraer and Wick without rel. and ending, but for (6) with rel. and no ending. The above are the only comparative specimens of the Lowland division given in Ellis. But Dr. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, pp. 211-2, states that the plural and first pers. singular without -s are only used when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun ; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination -s in all persons. Dr. Murray informs me that the persons who

supplied Dr. Ellis with the comparative specimens for Stranraer and Wick have given inaccurate versions with regard to the verbal endings. The probability is that Dr. Ellis has misunderstood the versions, because in a note (p. 683) he distinctly says that he took down the two versions hurriedly, and was afraid that some of the finer shades might have escaped him.

c. *be.*

§ 396. The vowel disappears in the weak forms of the present, and when followed by a consonant the verb disappears altogether in the plural, as *wil gue wen tet redi we will go when thou art ready, ǿer at it egien they are at it again*; but *ǿe bān uem they are going home, we selin em et oepni e kweet we are selling them at a halfpenny a quart*. The -z in the third person becomes -s before and after voiceless consonants, as *tbried et te bouts nuen guid the bread which thou boughtest is not good, šes pinkin e gu(e)in she is thinking of going*.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i am	}	{ wī, we āe(r)
aim, am, im		{ wī(r), we(r)
ǿā āt, te āt	}	{ jī, je āe(r)
ǿāt, tāt, tet		{ jī(r), je(r)
ī iz, e iz	}	{ ǿee, ǿe, ǿo āe(r)
īz, ez		
šū iz, še iz		
šūz, šez		{ ǿee(r), ǿe(r), ǿe(r)

Pret.	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i wo(r) or wə(r) etc.	wī, we wo(r) or wə(r) etc.
Infin.	bī, be
Pres. Part.	bī-in
Past	„ bīn

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i amet }	{ wī, we ānt
aim, am, im net }	{ wī, we net
āā, tā, te ānt }	{ jī, je ānt
āāt, tāt, tet net }	{ jī, je net
ī, e iznt }	{ āēē, āē, āē ānt
īz, ez net }	
šū, še iznt }	
šūz, šez net }	
	{ āēē, āē, āē net

Pret.	
ai, a, i wornt	wī, we wornt
ai, a, i we-net	wī, we we-net
etc.	etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.	
am ai, a, i ?	āwī, āwe ?
āāā, ātā, āte ?	ājī, āje ?
izi, izē ?	
iz šū, še ? }	āāēē, āāē, āāē ?
išū, iše ? }	

<i>Sing.</i>	Pret.	<i>Plur.</i>
wor ai, a, i ?		wowī, wowē ?
wočā, wotā, wotē ?		wojī, woje ?
wor, ī, e ?	}	wočee, woče, woče ?
wošū, woše ?		

INTERROGATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

amet ai, a, i ?	ānt wī, we ?
ātnčā, ātnčā ?	ānt jī, je ?
ātnčē ?	
iznt ī, e ?	ānt čee, če, če ?
iznt šū, še ?	

Pret.

wornt ai, a, i ?	wornt wī, we ?
etc.	etc.

In forms like *ātnč* *art not*, *wornt* *was, were not*, the *n* is vocalic.

The above forms of the present are mostly used in combination with the pronouns, in other cases we generally use *iz*, *ez*, *z*, *s*, cp. § 395, as *tkoilz iznt dun jet the coals are not done yet*, *čez lots on em dān trued there are lots of them down the road*, *čemz or čem e vari guidnz those are very good ones*, *tladz ez or e bān wi je the lads are going with you*, *čez fouks ets or et er oles grumlin there are people who are always grumbling*, *mī ets se pueli I who am so poorly*, *či ets nout tē diu med elp me e bit thou, who hast nothing to do, mightest help me a bit*.

d. *will*.

§ 397. Present, strong form *wil*, weak *el* which loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns.

Preterite, strong form **wod**, weak forms **wed**, **ed**, the latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns, as **ad len** *šet*, **bed a kânt diu bāt it džust nā** *I would lend thee it, but I cannot do without it just now*, **tladz wed** or **ed fots it**, *if je ast em the lads would fetch it, if you asked them.*

wod, **wed** is used as an infin. in the phrase: **ius tē wod** *to be formerly wont or willing to do a thing*, as **še ius tē wed elp me nā en šen** *they were formerly wont or willing to help me now and then.* **wod** is also in common use as a past participle, a **kud** or **ked e dunt if id wod** *I could have done it if I had wished.* But see the end of § 389.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a wil }	{ wī, wē wil
ail, al }	{ wīl, wēl
šā, tā, tē wil }	{ jī, jē wil
šāl, tāl, tēl }	{ jīl, jēl
ī, e wil }	{ šee, šē, šē wil
īl, el }	
šū, še wil }	
šūl, šel }	
	{ šeel, šēl, šēl

Pret.

ai, a, i wod or wed }	{ wī, wē wod or wed
aid, ad, id }	{ wīd, wēd
šā, tā, tē wod or wed }	{ jī, jē wod or wed
šād, tād, ted }	{ jīd, jēd
ī, e wod or wed }	{ šee, šē, šē wod or wed
īd, ed }	
šū, še wod or wed }	
šūd, šed }	
	{ šeed, šēd, šēd

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a wilnt or wient etc.	wī, we wilnt or wient etc.

Pret.

ai, a, i wodnt } aid, ad, id net } etc.	wī, we wodnt } wīd, wēd net } etc.
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INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

wil ai, a, i ?	wil wī, wē ?
wil čǎ, tǎ, tē ? } witǎ, wite ? }	wil jī, je ?
wil ĭ, e ? } wil šŭ, šē ? }	wil čee, čē, čē ?

Pret.

wod ai, a, i ? etc.	wod wī, wē ? etc.
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INTERROGATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

wilnt, wient ai, a, i ? etc.	wilnt, wient wī, wē ? etc.
---------------------------------	-------------------------------

Pret.

wodnt ai, a, i ? etc.	wodnt wī, wē ? etc.
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e. *do*.

§ 398. As an independent verb *diu* has its full conjugation like any other verb. The pret. *did* is used for all

persons singular and plural. Present part. *diu-in*, which has been reformed from the inf., otherwise we should have had **du(i)in* (§ 163); past part. *duin*, *dun*. Present wit *not* is *duent*, *dunet*, pret. *didnt*.

When used interrogatively as an auxiliary verb we have *diu* for the first person singular and for the plural strong form *diu*, weak forms *də*, *di*. When *do* is used affirmatively as an auxiliary verb it has, of course, no weak forms.

PRESENT.

Affirmatively.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
ai, a, i diu	wĩ, wə diu
čă, tă, tē duz	jĩ, jē diu
ĩ, ɐ duz }	čee, čē, čē diu
šũ, šē duz }	

Interrogatively.

diu ai, a, i ?	də or di wĩ, wə ?
duz čă, dustă, duste ?	də or di jĩ, jē ?
duz ĩ, ɐ ? }	də or di čee, čē, čē ?
duz šũ, duše ? }	

The verb *do* is not used so frequently in asking questions as in lit. Engl.: *wot pinstē, sal wē guē?* lit. *what thinkest thou, shall we go?* *wod ɐ diut, pĩnk jē?* *would he do it, do you think?* See § 249.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XI.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

I. ADVERBS.

§ 399. 1. Adverbs of manner and degree: The adverbs of manner mostly end in *-li*, as *ādli hardly*, *oekedli awkwardly*; but we have the stress on the suffix in *siuelī surely*, *ekuedinlái accordingly*.

ā how, *ā-ive(r)* old people say *āmive(r) however* which seems to have been contaminated with *āsemive(r) howsoever*, with the particle *sem*=the O. Dan. *sum*, O. Icel. *sem*; *apm* (lit. *happen*), *me bi perhaps*, *nobed* lit. *not but, only*, *olēs always*, *omēst almost*, *tiu too, also* (instead of *tiu* we very often use *en oel* lit. *and all*, *it wer e vari guidn en oel it was a very good one too*, *aim bān en oel I am going too*), *vari very*, *wil well*. But when *well* begins the sentence we use *wel* just as in lit. Engl., as *wel, a niver iēd sitš en e pin i oel mi boen deez well, I never heard such (an) a thing in all my born days*; but *its oel vari wil it is all very well*, *šuz nuen se wil te-dee she is not very well to-day*.

sue, weak form *se so*. Instead of *sue* we often use *čat*, as *i we čat mad he was so angry*, *še we čat week wol še kudnt stand she was so weak that* (lit. *while*) *she could not stand*.

The adverbs *also*, *thus*, *why* are not used. To express

also we use *tiu*, *en oel*, *thus is i ðis wee*, and *why*, *wot fo(r)*, *wots e guen fo(r)*? *why has he gone?*, a *duent noe wot ez dun ðat fo(r)* *I don't know why he has done that*.

Adverbs of place: *oniwie(r)* *anywhere*, *iē(r)* *here*, *iðe(r)*, *hither*, *jonde(r)* *yonder*, *sumwie(r)* *somewhere*, *ðie(r)* (weak forms *ðe(r)*, *ðe(r)*) *there*, *wie(r)* *where*.

Adverbs of time: *inā* *bye-and-bye*, *presently*, *binā* *by this time*, *ive(r)* *ever*, *jestede* *yesterday*, *jestenīt* *last night*, *jet yet*, *nā* *now*, *nive(r)* *never*, *oft often*, *sin since*, *suin soon*, *te-dee to-day*, *te-moen to-morrow*, *te-moen-tnīt to-morrow (the) night*, *te-nīt to-night*, *ðen then*, *wen when*.

Affirmative and negative particles: *ai* *yes* (*jes* is also used but it is not so common as *ai*), *nee* *no* (*nou* *no* has been borrowed from the literary language), *net* *not* (instead of *net* we often use *nuen*); cp. § 357.

2. PREPOSITIONS.

§ 400. *aftē(r)* *after*, *bē-fuē(r)*, *e-fuē(r)*, *fuē(r)* *before*, *bē-twīn*, *twīn* *between*, *bi*, weak *be* *by*, *bē-int* *behind*, *bin* *within*, *dān* *down*, *e*, *ev* (before vowels) *of*, *e-bāt*, *bāt* *about*, *without*, *e-būn*, *būn* *above*, *e-gien*, *gien* *against*, *e-len* *e along of*, *on account of*, *e-men* *among*, *e-nent* *opposite*, *e-said*, *bē-said* *besides*, *e-stied* *e*, *stied* *e instead of*, *fo(r)* *for*, *frē*, *frē* *from*, *in*, *i* *in* (*i* is very common before both vowels and consonants), *inte*, *intev* (before vowels), *intul* *into*, *niē(r)* *near*, *nobed* *except*, *on* (weak form *e*) *on*, *of*, *ouē(r)*, *ove(r)* *over*, *sin* *since*, *te*, *tev* (before vowels), *tul* *to*, *priu*, *pre* *through*, *from*, *undē(r)* *under*, *up* *up*, *wi* *with*, *wiðāt* *without*.

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 401. The following are the chief conjunctions in addition to those prepositions and adverbs which may be

used as conjunctions: **bed** *but*, **be-kos**, **kos** *because*, **en** *and*, **et** *that* (*dat* is never used as a conjunction in the dialect), **if** *if*, **noeðe(r)** *neither*, **oeðe(r)** *either*, **ne(r)** *nor* (after comparatives *than*, **bete ner i pout** *better than I thought*), **o(r)**, **e(r)** *or*, **ðoe** *although*, **wol** *until*, **that** (**stop wol e kumz stop** *until he comes*, **še we ðat badli wol ðe pout šed nive mend** *she was so ill that they thought she would never get better*).

SPECIMENS.

It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years; but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

There is a great quantity of stories and poems printed in the dialect, but as they stand they are practically worthless for the purposes of this book. The transcription is neither accurate nor consistent. All the specimens given here are from printed sources. To number III. I have added the original in order to show the kind of transcription usually employed in such books.

The sources are:—III. (*The Yorkshireman's Comic Annual*, 1884, pp. 37-38), IV. (*ditto*, 1885, pp. 14-17), V. (*ditto*, 1882, pp. 24-26), VI. (*Yorkshire Sketches*, by William Cudworth, pp. 11-17), VII., VIII., IX. (*Dialect and other Poems*, by Ben Preston, pp. 31-33, 11-12, 1-10).

I.

Comparative Specimen.

See Ellis, EEP. vol. v. p. 7*. In this and the Dialect Test I have inserted the forms in parentheses in the literary English Specimens in order to facilitate the reading of the dialect versions.

1. 'wel, neəbə(r), jī ən im mə buəp laf ət ðis niuz ə main.
uə keəz ? ðats noəðər iə nə ðiə(r).

2. feu men dī kos ðə laft at, wī noə, duənt wə ? wot səd
mak əm ? its nət vari laikli, iz it ?

3. āsəm·rivə ðiəz ə tfaks ə tkeəs, suə dʒust od jə din, frend,
ən bi kwaiət wol iv dun. ākɹ !

4. 'aim siuər a iəd əm seə—sum ə ðem fouks ət went
priu tuəl pɪɹ frə tfəst ðəsənz,—pət a did, [seəf] siuər
i'nif,—

5. ət tʃuɹɪst sun isen, ə gət lad ə nain, niu is faðə voiz
ət wuns, ðo(ə) it 'wo sə kwɪər ən skwiəkin, ən ad trāst 'im
tə speik t'riup oni deə, ai, a 'wod ðat.

6. ən toud wumən əsen l tel oni on jə ət laf nā, ən tel jə
streit of, tiu, bāt mitʃ boðə(r), if jəl nobəd as ə(r), oə ! wiənt
ʃə ?—

7. ət oni reət ʃu teld it 'mī wen i ast ə(r), tū ə pɹi taimz
ouə(r), ʃu did, ən 'ʃū outnt tə bi ren i sitʃ [ən] ə point əz
ðis, wot pɪɹk jə ?

I.

Comparative Specimen.

1. Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

2. Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? what should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

3. Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your [din] noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

4. *I* am [sure] certain I heard them say—some of [them] those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, [sure] safe enough,—

5. That the youngest son himself, a great [lad] boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it *was* so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would* [that].

6. And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—

7. [at any rate] leastways she told it *me* when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

8. wel əz a wə se(ə)-in, ʃūd tel jə, ā, wiər ən wen ʃə fan
d'rukɪ ānd ət ʃə koəlz ər uzbn.

9. ʃu sweə ʃə so(ə) im wi ər oən īn, ligin reit ət ful lenʃ,
ə tgrund, in iz guid sundə koit, tlois bi d'uər ə tās, dān ət
tkoənər ə jon loin.

10. i wə ruərin ə'weə, sez ʃū, fər oəl twāld laik ə puəli
bān, ər ə litl las in ə friət.

11. ən ʃat apmd, əz ər ən ə douter-i-loə kom priu tbak
jād frə īnin twet tluez āt tē drai ə tweʃin deə.

12. wol tketl wə boilin fə t'iə, wun fain brīt sumər
aftənuin, nobəd ə wik sin kum tnekst pēzdə.

13. ən, di jə noə? a nivə liənd nə muə nə ʃis ə ʃat
biznəs up tē tē-deə, əs siuər əz mi neəm z džon ʃepəd, ən a
duənt wɒnt tiu oəðə(r), ʃiə nā!

14. ən su(ə) am bān uəm tē mi supə(r). guid nīt, ən
duənt bi sē redi tē kro(ə) ouər ə bodi ə'gien, wen ə toəks ə
ʃis ʃat ə tuðə(r).

15. its ə weək fuil ət preets bāt riəzn. ən ʃats mai last
wəd. guid bai.

8. Well as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where, and when she found the drunken [hound] that she calls her husband.

9. She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying [right] stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

10. He was [roaring] whining away, says she, for all the world like a [poorly barn] sick child, or a little [lass] girl in a fret.

11. And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes on [the] a washing day.

12. While the kettle was boiling for [the] tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week [since] ago come next Thursday.

13. And, do you know? I never learned [no] any more [nor] than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

14. And so I am going home to [my supper] sup. Good night, and don't be so [ready] quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t' other.

15. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good bye.

II.

Dialect Test.

See Ellis, p. 8*, and compare the version given below with the one in Ellis (p. 389), which contains several strange mistakes both in the version and the notes to it. If his rendering of the dialect test of other dialect speakers is as inaccurate as that of the Windhill dialect, the value of these tests for phonetic and philological purposes is not very great. The classified word-list (pp. 391-4) also contains many mistakes. The only way in which I can account for these inaccuracies is partly through the hurried manner in which the dial. test and classified word-list were taken down and partly through their not having been revised.

1. su(ə) a seə meəts, jə sī nā ət im reit ə'bāt ʒat litl las kumin frə tskuil jondə(r).

2. šuz gu(ə)-in dān truəd ʒiə priu tred geət ə tleft and said ə tweə.

3. siuər i'nif, tbān z guən streit up tə d'uər ə tren əs,

4. wiə šl tšons tə find ʒat drukn diəf wiznd felə (more commonly tšap) ə tneəm ə toməs.

5. wi oəl no(ə) im vari wīl.

6. wiənt toud tšap suin teitš ə nət tə diu it ə'giən, puə piŋ!

7. liuk! iznt it triu?

II.

Dialect Test.

1. So I say, mates, you see now that I am right about that little [lass] girl coming from the school yonder.
2. She is going down the road there through the red gate on the left hand side of the way.
3. Sure enough, the [barn] child has gone straight up to the door of the wrong house,
4. where she will chance to find that drunken deaf [wizzened] shrivelled fellow of the name of Thomas.
5. We all know him very well.
6. Won't the old chap soon teach her not to do it again, poor thing!
7. Look! Isn't it true?

III.

TBATL ꝥ T'LUÆZ LAINZ.

ai, Grees, las, it wær oel ouer æ bit æv æ tluæs kuæd. am
 næt wun æ tsuæt tæ guæ peillin up æn dān dirin fouk ouæ(r),
 æz æ riul; Ða noez Ðat. wot 'ai wont is piæs æn kwaietnæs,
 bæd if fouk wiænt let mæ ev it [or et], al mak æm sit up fot,
 5 æz oni wumæn 'wod æt æd ær oæn weæ tæ mak i twæld, æn æ lot
 æ bānz tæ mak æn mend fo(r), nivæ neem æ uzbn æt nivæ
 blakliædæd æ greæt æ wešt æ winde sin wed wæ wo(r). Ða
 noez æz wil æz 'ai noe wot æ gæt wešin ai ev ivri wik—æ lot
 æ muki smoks æn skæts, æt jæ mæ boil æn betæ boil, æn Ðen bi
 10 niæli æz bad æz wen jæ bæ'gan. Ðe duent koel it tgriæzi miln
 fæ nout. tiuzdæ z olæs bin mai wešin deæ fæ Ðiæz siks jiæ bak
 æ muæ(r). a olæs put t'luæs tæ stīp tniit æ'fuæ(r), æn get up æt
 faiv æ'tlok i tmoenin, æ'fuæ Ben æn tbānz guæz tæ Ðæ wāk,
 æn gets tsetpan æ'geæt, æn z ivri tlāt āt suin aftæ brekfæs
 15 taim, if Ðæz æ guid druft, fæf if Ðæz wun þin muæ nær æ'nuÐær
 æt maks Ben liuk blak its æ lot æ tluæz irin æ'bāt.

Ðats bin mai we(æ) æ gu(æ)in on, æn šuz noæn it æz wil æz
 iv noæn it misen. wol Ðis apmd wi wær æz guid neæbæz æz
 nīd bī. wi mud fratš æ bit nā æn Ðen ouæ tbānz—fæ Ðat
 20 Siuzi æ æz iz æ reit 'teæstril æv æ las, æn giz ææ Džoni sum reo
 slaps sumtaimz—bæd wiv niver ed næ boÐæ tæ miæn out wol
 nā. æn if tæl bæ'līv mæ, las, av dun muæ fæ Ðat Ðiæ wumæn
 nær if šæd bin mi oæn sistæ(r). a neg'lektæd mi oæn uæm tæ

III.

T'BATTLE O' T'TLOAZE LINES.

AY, Grace, lass, it wor all ovver a bit of a tloaze cord. I'm nut one o' t'soart to go peylin' up an' dahn dingin' fowk ovver, as a rule; thah knaws that. What I want is peace an' quietness, but if fowk weant let me hev it, I'll mak' 'em sit up for it, as onny woman wod 'at hed her awn 5 way to mak' i' t'world, an' a lot o' barns to mak' an' mend for, nivver name a husband 'at nivver blackleaded a grate or weshed a winda sin' wed we wor. Thah knaws as weel as I knaw what a gurt weshin' I hev ivvery week—a lot o' mucky smocks an' skirts, 'at ye may boil an' better 10 boil, an' then be nearly as bad as when ye began. They don't call it t'greasy miln for nowt. Tuesday's awlus been my weshin' day for these six year back or more. I awlus put t'tloaze to steep t'neet afore, an' get up at five o'clock i' t'mornin', afore Ben an' t'barns goes to ther wark, an' 15 gets t'set-pan agate, an' hez ivvery claht aht sooin after brekfast time, if ther's a gooid druft, for if ther's one thing more nor another 'at mak's Ben lewk black it's a lot o' tloaze hingin' abaht.

That's been my way o' goin' on, an' shoo's knawn it as 20 weel as I've knawn it mysen. Whol this happen'd we wor as gooid nabors as need be. We mud fratch a bit nah an' then ovver t'barns—for that Susey o' hers is a reyt tay-strill of a lass, an' gives ahr Johnny some rare slaps sometimes—bud we've nivver hed no bother to mean owt whol 25 nah. An' if ta'll believe me, lass, I've done more for that theer woman nor if shoo'd been my awn sister. I ne-

weat on e wen še wə ligin in e tlast bān ; av swild tpsidž
 25 duznz e taimz wen its bīn ē tān ; en a wə niver e'gīen takin
 keər e tās for e wen šez wontəd tə guə tə tmitin. šūz e
 grand en tə guə tə tmitin, šū iz šat ; bəd a oləs sed, en al
 se(ə) e'gīen, et šem et prəfesəz tə bi sə piuer en guid əz oləs
 twāst wen šə kum tə bi reit rekəd up. a wuns niu e pāsanz
 30 doutər et didnt no(ə) ā tə freəm tə weš e pot up, en še kəd
 fešn tə guə tə tšapil ivri sundə i twik. bəd jə duənt no(ə)
 u(ə) is sānd wol jəv bodmd em reit ; en if onibodi kəd e
 teld mə pri wik sin et Meəri Džeglz əd e dun əs šu ez dun tə
 mə, ast e proen d'ištlāt i šə feəs en teld em šə wə nuən
 35 wot šə out tə bī. bəd šez nout tə bi sed fot. šes sum
 fouk əd disieʋ e maiklskoup, še sə dip.

wel, əz a wə telin šə, av oləs wešt e t'iuədzə šis moni e
 jīə(r), fər a laik tə gu(ə) āt e bit əv e mundə, wen iv getn
 em šə sundə tluəz brušt en saidəd ə'weə, en a mak nout e
 40 wešin en beəkin tə-geðər et tbak end e twik, wen
 jə səd bi tliənin. suə tiuədzə .z mai deə, en šu noəz it.
 wel, e fotnit sin kum jəstədə, a gat up et faiv ətlok, əz
 iuzl, en went at it laik e oəs wol ə'bāt brekfəs taim. šen
 a tiuk t'luəs kuəd en pout ad bi getin e tūpri jīəz āt. bəd,
 45 wod tə bə'līv it ? Meəri əd guən en putn ər oən kuəd āt
 en getn it ful e tluəz. a kəd ādli bə'līv mi oən īn. a nivə
 niu e weš wol wednzdə ə'fuər i oəl mi laif, su(ə) a guəz up
 tul ər, en a sez, 'wots tmīənin e šis laik ?' 'tmīənin e
 wot ?' šu sez, əz inisnt əz e stuft miul. 'didnt tə no(ə) it
 50 wə mai wešin moənin ?' a sez. 'apm a did,' šu sez, 'en
 apm a didnt, bəd a spuəz av əz mitš reit tə inə mai tluəz āt
 əz šā ez tə inə šain.' šis netld mə ; su(ə) a sez, 'šə noəz

glected my awn hoam to wait on her when shoo wor liggin' in o' t'last barn; I've swilled t'passidge dozens o' times when it's been her turn; an' I wor nivver ageean takkin' 30 care o' t'hahse for her when shoo's wanted to go to t'meetin'. Shoo's a grand un to go to t'meetin', shoo is that; bud I awlus said, an' I'll say ageean, 'at them 'at professes to be so pure an' gooid is awlus t'warst when they come to be reyt reckoned up. I once knew a parson's dowter 'at 35 didn't know hah to frame to wesh a pot up, an' shoo could feshan to go to t'chapel ivvery Sunday i' t'week. Bud ye doan't know who is sahnd whol ye've bottom'd 'em reyt; an' if onnybody could ha' told me three week sin' 'at Mary Jaggles wod ha' done as shoo hez done to me, I sud ha' 40 thrawn t'dishelaht i' ther face an' told 'em they wor noan what they owt to be. But ther's nowt to be said for it. Ther's some fowk 'ud deceive a michaelscowp, they're so deep.

Well, as I wor tellin' tha, I've awlus weshd o' t'Tuesday 45 this monny a year, for I like to go aht a bit of a Monday, when I've gotten 'em ther Sunda' tloaze brushed an' sided away, an' I mak' nowt o' weshin an' bakin' together at t'back end o' t'week, when ye sud be tleanin'. So Tuesday's my day, an' shoo knaws it. Well, a fortnit sin' come 50 yesterday, I gat up at five o'clock, as ushal, an' went at it like a horse whol abaht brekfast time. Then I tewk t'tloaze cord an' thowt I'd be gettin' a toathree things aht. Bud, wod ta believe it? Mary hed goan an' putten her awn cord aht an' gotten it full o' tloaze. I could hardly 55 believe my awn een. I nivver knew her wesh whol Wednesday afore i' all my life, so I goes up tul her, an' I says, 'What's t'meanin' o' this like?' 'T'meanin' o' what?' shoo says, as innocent as a stuffed mule. 'Didn't ta know it wor my weshing mornin'?' I says. 'Happen I did,' 60 shoo says, 'an' happen I didn't, bud I suppose I've as mitch reyt ta hing my tloaze aht as tha hez ta hing thine.' This nettled me; so I says, 'Thah knaws varry weel 'at Tues-

vari wīl ət tiuzdæ z mai deæ, ən su(ə) al þenk ðæ tæ get ðem
 tlāts æ ðain āt æ truəd əs suin əs tæ kan.' 'uæ tæ toækin
 55 tul?' šu sez. 'ða noez vari wīl u(ə) im toækin tul,' a sez,
 'suæ let s e næ boðæ(r).' ðen šu tǽnz rānd ən šu sez, 'av æz
 mitš reit tæ ðis grund ən tæ ðat tluæspuæst æz ðā ez, ən al sī
 ðæ fat æfuær al tak æm dān, suæ nā ða noez.' 'al pūl æm
 dān if tæ duznt,' a sez. 'if tæ duz ðal get ði topin pūld,' šu
 60 sez. 'ən uæl pūl it?' a sez; 'uæl pūl it, Meæri Džeglz?'
 ən a went up tul æ tæ šeu ær a wæ nuæn fleəd on æ(r), nær oni
 sitš laik. 'ðal sī uæ,' šu sez, 'suæ get intæ tās wi ðæ.' a wæ
 sum ən mad, ða mæ bi siuæ(r), su(ə) a sez, 'get intæ tās
 ðisen, jæ oud þin; uæ stāvd tkat?' 'uæ kudnt þoil tæ kīp
 65 wun?' šu sez. 'uæ boild d'īštlāt up wi tbroþ?' sez ai.
 'uæ senz ðæ bānz āt i regz?' sez šū. 'uæ z ren i ðær iæd?'
 sez ai. 'ðā āt, ən oæl bælemin ðæ,' šu sez.

a wornt bān tæ stand sitš lewwidž æz ðat oni lomæ(r),
 su(ə) a þriu mi kuəd dān ən ran intæ tās ən gat tkāvin
 70 naif. ðen a fliu ət æ kuəd wi it in æ džifi. bæd ad næ suinæ
 bægun æ seægin wi it næ šæ rušæz at mæ wi tlon bruš ən
 ramz it intæ mi feæs, fær oæl it wæ kuvæd wi wet ən muk.
 ad sitš ən æ muki feæs æz ða nivæ soe sin tæ wæ boæn. bæd
 a wæ nuæn bān tæ bi bet, su(ə) a fotšt mi oæn lom bruš, ən
 75 aftæ rubin it i tsludž i tmidl æ truəd a went ən peantæd ivri
 reg ət šæd imin āt wi it. Meæri ðen fotšt æ peælful æ sudz ən
 þriu æm ouær āæ duæstnz, bæd a gat æ pigin ful æ tseæm suæt
 æ stuf ən let ær ev it feær i tfeæs. æ reglæ krād æd getn rānd
 bi ðis taim, ən tladz kept sinin āt oæl suæts æ lou stuf, ən
 80 wot æd æ bīn tupšot on it oæl a duænt no(ə) if āæ Ben ednt
 apmd tæ kum uæm tæv iz brekfæs džust ðen.

day is my day, an so I'll thenk tha to get them clahts o' thine aht o' t'road as sooin as ta can.' 'Who're ta talkin' 65 tul?' shoo says. 'Thah knaws varry weel who I'm talkin' tul,' I says, 'so let's hev no bother.' Then shoo turns rahnd an' shoo says, 'I've as mitch reyt to this grund an' to that tloaze-post as thah hez, an' I'll see tha fat afore I'll tak' 'em dahn, so nah thah knaws.' 'I'll pool 'em dahn if 70 ta doesn't,' I says. 'If ta does thah'll get thy toppin' pooled,' shoo says. 'An' who'll pool it?' I says; 'who'll pool it, Mary Jaggles?' an' I went up tul her to show her I wor noan flayed on her, nor onny sitch like. 'Thah'll see who,' shoo says, 'so get into t'hahse wi' tha.' I wor 75 some an' mad, thah may be suar, so I says, 'Get into t'hahse thysen, ye owd thing; who starved t'cat?' 'Who couldn't thoil ta keep one?' shoo says. 'Who boiled t'dishclaht up wi' t'broth?' says I. 'Who sends ther barns aht i regs?' says shoo. 'Who's reng i' ther heead?' says I. 'Thah art, an' all belengin' tha,' shoo says.

I warrant bahn to stand sitch langwidge as that onny longer, so I threw my cord dahn an' ran into t'hahse an' gat t'carvin' knife. Then I flew at her cord wi' it in a jiffy. Bud I'd no sooiner begun o' sawin' wi' it nor shoo 85 rushes at me wi' t'long brush an' rams it into my face, for all it wor covered wi' wet an' muck. I'd sitch a mucky face as thah nivver saw sin' ta wor born. Bud I wor noan bahn to be bet, so I fotched my awn long brush, an' after rubbin' it i' t'sludge i' t'middle o' t'road I went an' painted 90 ivvery reg 'at shoo hed hingin' aht wi' it. Mary then fotched a pailful o' suds an' threw 'em over ahr doorstuns, bud I gat a piggin' full o' t'same soart o' stuff an' let her hev' it fair i' t'face. A reggalar crahd hed gotten rahnd by this time, an' t'lads kept singin' aht all soarts o' low 95 stuff, an' what 'ad ha' been t'upshot on it all I don't knaw if ahr Ben heddant happened to come hoam to his brekfast just then.

'What's up nah?' says Ben; so I at it an' tell'd him,

‘ wots up nā ? ’ sez Ben ; su(ə) a at it ən teld im, ol·ðoə še
 wər ektərin ə·weə laik mad ivri bit ə t’aim. fə wuns Ben
 tiuk mai said, ən i tiuk ə tluəz, ən tkuəd, ən ivriþin dʒust
 85 əz it wo(r), ən beɹd əm slap on təv ər oen duəstnz. ðe
 wər ə bit ə kwaiətnəs ðen fər ə bit, ən a gat mi oen kuəd
 ful ə tluəz āt ə·fuə Ben went bak ə·giən təv iz wāk. in ə
 wail ət aftə(r), ā·ivə(r), a iəd ə lafin noiz, su(ə) a popt mi iəd
 āt ə d’uə(r), ən ðiər if toud bīzm ednt guən ən kut mi lain
 90 dān, ən oəl mi tluəz wə ligin ə tfluə(r). a faied up ən a
 went təv ər ās, bəd šu slamd d’uər i mi feəs ən put tlatš
 dān su(ə) əz i kudnt get in. ‘ al mak ðə pee fə ðis, jə
 treš ! ’ a šātəd priu tkei·oil. ‘ mak on ! ’ šu šātəd bak, ən ad
 tə gu(ə) ən sam mi tluəz up ən weš əm ouər ə·giən. wot əd
 95 ə kum tə pas if it ednt tēnd āt tə bi ə wet deə a kānt tel ;
 bəd it kom dān laik kats ən dogz, ən wi buəp ed tə drai wə
 tluəz i tās.

wen nīt kom a wə fleəd ðəd bī ə boni rumpəs, fə Ben wə
 boilin wi reədž. if oni ə Meəri bānz kom niər āəz šu fotšt
 100 əm in wi ə tlatə(r), ən priətnd tə kil əm if ivə ðə leəkt wi
 ðem þinəz oni muə(r). ‘ wir əz guid əz jī ! ’ sez āə Dik.
 ‘ bəd jāə muðəz ə bad ən ; šuz bān tə bi teən tə tlokup, ’ sez
 Meəriz junist las. þinəz gat tə sitš ən ə pitš, indīd, wol āə
 Ben went ən ofəd tuəl famli, big ən litl, āt tə feit. ā·ivə(r),
 105 Meəri uzbn z ə nais kwaiət suət əv ə tšap, ən av nout tə
 se(ə) ə·giən ‘im, ən i wodnt oəðə mel nə mak. ən ðats wot
 wiv getn tul, ən ā wis kum on tnekst tiuzdə ðə loəd uənli
 noəz. bəd as nivə fə·giv ə(r) ; nivə wol i liv ; tnasti guid·
 fə·nout ! after oəl ət iv dun for ər ən oəl, ən nivə tšəədžd
 110 ər ə oəpni pīs.

wornt ðat ə nok ət d’uə(r) ? a þout it wo(r). kum in.
 wel, if it iznt Meəri ! ða sez ða þout it wə wednzdə ? ən

although shoo wor hectorin' away like mad ivvery bit o' 100
 t'time. For once Ben tewk my side, an' he tewk her
 tloaze, an' t'cord, an' ivverything just as it wor, an' beng'd
 'em slap on to her awn doorstuns. Theer wor a bit o'
 quietness then for a bit, an' I gat my awn cord full o'
 tloaze aht afore Ben went back agean to his wark. In a 105
 while at after, hahivver, I heeard a laughin' noise, so I popt
 my heead aht o' t'door, an' theer if t'owd besom heddant
 goan an' cut my line dahn, an' all my tloaze wor ligg'in' o'
 t'floor. I fired up an' I went to her hahse, but shoo
 slammed t'door i' my face an' put t'latch dahn so as I 110
 couldn't get in. 'I'll mak tha pay for this, ye tresh!' I
 sharted threw t'keyhoil. 'Mak' on!' shoo sharted back,
 an' I hed to go an' sam my tloaze up an' wesh 'em ovver
 agean. What 'ud hev come to pass if it heddant turned
 aht to be a wet day I can't tell; bud it com' dahn like 115
 cats an' dogs, an' we both hed to dry wer tloaze i' t'hahse.

When neet com' I wor flay'd there'd be a bonny rumpus,
 for Ben wor boilin' wi' rage. If onny o' Mary's barns com'
 near ahrs shoo fotched 'em in wi' a clatter, an' threaten'd
 to kill 'em if ivver they laikt wi' *them things* onny more. 120
 'We're as gooid as ye!' says ahr Dick. 'Bud yahr
 mother's a bad un; shoo's bahn to be ta'en to t'lockup,'
 says Mary's youngest lass. Things gat ta sitch a pitch,
 indeed, whol ahr Ben went an' offered t'whoal family, big
 an' little, aht to feyt. Hahivver, Mary's husband's a nice, 125
 quiet sort of a chap, an' I've nowt to say agean *him*, an'
 he woddant awther mel nor mak'. An' that's what we've
 gotten tul, an' hah we sal com' on t'next Tuesday the Lord
 oanly knaws. Bud I'se nivver forgive her; nivver whol
 I live; t'nasty gooid-for-nowt! After all 'at I've done for 130
 her an' all, an' nivver charged her a hawpney piece.

Warrant that a knock ot t'door? I thowt it wor. Come
 in. Well, if it isn't Mary! Thah says thah thowt it wor
 Weddinsday? An' thah wants to be reyt? So dew I.
 I don't know what we've hed to fall aht abaht; an' I've 135

Ǿa wonts tē bi reit? suē diu ai. a duēnt noē wot wēv ed
 tē foel āt ə·bāt; ən av džust bin se(ə)in et if ivē Ǿē wēr ə
 115 wumən et i ȝout out ə·bāt it wē Ǿī. kum in wi Ǿē. av
 bin evin ə bit ə frendli tšat wi Greəs iə(r). tketl z on,
 ən av ə fati keək i tuvm, ən a dāē seē Ǿez ə drop ə
 Džəmeəke sumwiə(r). sit Ǿē dān, las.

just been sayin' 'at if ivver theer wor a woman 'at I thowt
owt abaht it wor thee. Come in wi' tha. I've been
hevin' a bit ov a friendly chat wi' Grace here. T'kettle's
on, an' I've a fatty cake i' t'oven, an' I dar' say theer's a
drop o' Jamaica somewheer. Sit tha dahn, lass.

IV.

TKUKŪ TLOK.

a wə dān ət Līdz tuðə wik, ən bi-in reəðə drai aftə
 liukin rānd t'ān, a apmd tə pop intəv ə eələs nət fāə frə
 tsteišn, wiə ðə wə bān tə bī ə rafl fər ə kukū tlok. a də
 seə jəl noə wot ə kukū tlok iz; ā-ivə(r), its ə tlok əts getn
 5 ə oil i tfeəs ont wier ə bəd pops āt ivri āer ən šāts 'kukū'
 əstied ə straikin, ən šāts wuns ivri oəf āer əz wīl. nā it
 wə tseəm ət ðis rafl əz it iz ət ivri uðə(r)—ðe wər oəl
 wontin tə bi twinə(r). ðe wə niəli oəl junə tšaps ət wər in,
 ən ət əbāt sevm ətlok ðe bə-gan ə mustrin tə'geðə(r). wol
 10 ðə wə weətin ðiə fər əm oəl tēnin up, ðe kəd toək ə nout
 nobəd ðis kukū tlok. 'am siuər ai sl win it,' sed Ned ə
 oud Bilz. 'ðal nət win ðis,' sed Krakə(r). 'av nət bīn in
 ə rafl jət bəd wot iv wun.' 'ðat tlok l bi 'main tənīt, ər els
 am tšet,' sed Džim Tanə(r). 'ə diəl on jəl find jəsənz
 15 mis'teən,' sed junə Stroəbəri, kos av kum þri mail ə pəpəs
 tə fotš it.' t'aim kom ət last for əm tə šak, ən if jəd nobəd
 sīn əm enīn on t'eəbl tə sī wot numəz wə tēnd up, jəd aktli
 ə þout ðə wə bān tə swolə tbeəsin. trafl wər ouər ət last,
 ən Bili Mušrəm wə di'kleəd tə bi twinə(r). wen (ə)levm
 20 ətlok kom, tlanloəd teld əm it wə taim tə bi skiftin, suə
 Bili gat is tlok ən went uəm. nā Bili didn't no(ə) ət it wər
 ə kukū tlok, ən id niə sīn wun ə'fuə(r), su(ə) it koəzd im ə
 diəl ə trubl, əz al tel jə in ə bit 'sə ðə, Džini wot iv brout
 ðə,' i sed tə twaif, əz i tlapt t'lok on t'eəbl wen ə gat uəm.
 25 'wier es tə getn ðat þriu, Bili?' šu sed. 'av wun it,' sed
 Bili. 'ai, its ə boni ən. av niə sīn wun laik ðat ə'fuə(r).
 bəd let s bi šapin fə bed, Bili, fər its getin lat.' 'al in t'lok

up ə'fuər i guə,' sed Bili, əz ə went fər ə neəl ən tamə(r).
 aftər əd un it up ə'gɪən twoəl, ən set tpendlēm wegin, ðe
 went tə bed; bəd ðed nuən bɪn in moni minits ə'fuə ðə iəd 30
 sumət šāt 'kukū!' 'wot ðə ɛmɛnt s ʔat?' sed Bili.
 'neə, ai kānt tel,' sed Džini. 'am siuər a iəd ʃumdi šāt
 kukū,' sed Bili. 'suə did ai, Bili,' sed twaif. Bili gat up,
 strak ə lit, ðen went dān-tsteəz. i liukt oəl up ən dān,
 bə'int d'uəz, intə tkubəd ən tkoil oil, bəd kəd find nout, 35
 su(ə) i went ən gat intə bed ə'gɪən. in ə bit i iəd 'kukū'
 twelv taimz. 'iə ðə, Džini,' i sed, 'ʔats pleən i'nif, bi
 gum!' ən džumpt āt ə bed, strak ə lit, ran dān-tsteəz, gat
 od ə tpuəkər ən bə'gan tə unt up ən dān ə'gɪən. 'a kɪ sɪ
 nout dān iə(r), Džini,' i sed, aftə liukin up ən dān fər ə'bāt 40
 ten minits, 'džust fil if ðəz onibodi undə tbed.' 'neə, bi
 gum, Bili; brɪŋ tɪt ən kum ən liuk fə ʔisen.' 'ʔat nuən
 fleəd, ā tə?' sed Bili, bə'ginin tə bi frɪnd isen, ən diðərin
 wol ə kəd ādli od tkanl i tstik. 'neə, am nət ə bit fleəd,'
 šu sed, 'bəd av iəd fouk se(ə) ət twelv ətlok ət nɪt s t'aim 45
 ət bogədz bə'gin tə nok ə'bāt, ən its džust ə'bāt twelv nā.'
 ʔat wər i'nif fə Bili. tkanl flopt āt ə tstik, ən i rušt upsteəz
 ən tumld intə bed əz if sumdi wər aftər im. 'oə, mēðə(r)!'
 skriəmd Džini, ʃɪŋkin Bili əd sɪn sumət. Bili kuvəd iseln
 ouə tiəd wi t'luəz ən krept dān tə tbodm ə tbed. id getn 50
 sə fāə dān ət wun əv is fit un ə bit ouə tbodm, ən tkitlin
 bi-in upsteəz ən wontin sumət tə leək wi, gat od ə Bili tuəz
 wi it tloəz. 'mēðə(r)!' Bili šātəd, əz i dregd iz leg up.
 'ʃɪvz!' skriəmd Džini, əs šu kuvəd ə'sen ouə tiəd. noəðər
 on əm dāst stə fər ə'bāt ten minits. ət last Džini sed, 55
 'Bili! Bili!' 'od ʔi din las.' 'dus tə ʃɪŋk ʔis ās əz
 oəntəd, Bili?' 'am siuər it iz,' sed Bili, 'ən al flit t'fəst ʃɪŋ
 ə mundə moənin. a niə bəl'livd i bogədz ə'fuə(r), bəd a kɪ
 bəl'liv it nā, bək'os av felt wun.' 'felt wun?' sed Džini.
 'ai e fə siuə(r), las.' 'ən wot wor it laik?' šu sed. 'a kānt 60
 tel. it kom ən gat od ə mi tu(ə) ə bit sɪn.' Džini flopt ouə
 tiəd ə'gɪən, ən Bili ʃɪŋkin šəd sɪn sumət, flopt ouə tiəd tiu.
 in ə bit, ivriʃɪŋ bi-in kwaiət, Džini popt ər iəd āt ə bed

63 ɐ'gʲien. 'Bili, a wiʃ it wə moənin,' ʃu sed. 'suə diu ai,'
 63 sed Bili, ɐz ɐ flopt iz iəd āt. 'am feən ʒā iəd it ɐz wil ɐz
 mī, ɐr els ʒa məd apm ɐ ɔut ad bin driəmin.' 'it wə nuə
 driəmin, Bili, fə noəðər on ɐz ɐd bīn ɐ'slɪp.' ʒe buəɔ leəd
 lisnin, ɐn ivripiɪ wə sə kwaiət ʒe kəd iə t'lok tikin dān-
 tsteəz. 'kukū!' wə ʃātəd ɐ'gʲien. 'jonz tseəm din ɐ'gʲien,'
 70 ʃu sed; 'am siuər its dān-tsteəz. gu(ə) ɐn ev ɐ'nuðə liuk.'
 'a duənt noə wiə tkanl iz,' i sed; 'it tumld āt ɐ tstik
 sumwiə(r).' 'wel, itl nuən bi fāer of; get up ɐn liuk fot.'
 Bili gat up, went on iz anz ɐn nīz, ɐn bə'gan gruəpin ɐ'bāt
 tfluə fə tkanl. nā Džini ɐd un ɐ frok ɐn skāts on ɐ neəl ɐt
 75 t'op ɐ tsteəz, ɐn Bili apmd tə tutʃ ɐm wen i wər untin
 fə tkanl, ɐn ʒe kom tumlin on im. i dʒumpt intə bed
 wi sitʃ fuəs ɐt i nokt iz waif āt ɐ tuðə said. 'māðə(r)!
 ɔvz!' skriəmd Džini, ɐn ʃu opmd twində ɐn ʃātəd 'elp!'
 ɐ plismən ɐt wə dʒust pasin, ɔɪŋkin sumət wə rɪə i tās,
 80 brast d'uər opm ɐn went in. 'wot s tə diu iə(r)?' i sed.
 'kan jə sī onibodi ʒiə(r)?' Džini ʃātəd. 'ā kan i sī i d'āk?'
 i sed, ɐz i ʃut d'uə tə kɪp onibodi frə gu-in āt. 'stop ʒiə
 wol Bili gets ɐ lit,' ʃu sed, 'kos ʒəz ɔəðə ɔvz ɐ bogədz i
 tās.' Bili gat ɐ lit, ɐn im ɐn tɪlsmən siətʃt buəɔ upsteəz
 85 ɐn dān, bəd kəd find nout. 'jə fə'gat tə liuk undə tbed,'
 sed Bili. ɐ'weə tɪlsmən went upsteəz, ɐn Bili ɐn twaif
 krept aftər im. nout wə fun undə tbed, suə tɪlsmən sed ɐt
 ʒə must ɐ bin mis'teən. wol ʒə wər upsteəz tɒəd ʃātəd
 'kukū' ɐ'gʲien. dān kom tɪlsmən, tū steps ɐt wuns, ɐn
 90 Bili ɐn twaif krept aftər im. ɐ siətʃ wə ʒen meəd i ivri
 niuk ɐn koənə(r), iɪm undə t'iepot ɐn tsoltsele(r), bəd
 nout wə fun. 'ʒes sumət kwɪər ɐ'bāt ʒis,' sed tɪlsmən.
 'ʒes sumət vari kwɪə(r),' Džini sed. 'e jə ivər iəd
 sitʃ dinz ɐz ʒem i tās ɐ'fuə(r)?' tɪlsmən ast. 'nɪvər ɐ'fuə
 95 tə-nɪt,' Džini sed. 'wel,' sed tɪlsmən, bə'ginin tə bi ɐs
 fleəd ɐz ɔəðə Bili ɐ twaif, ɐn gu-in ɐz wait ɐz ɐ ʃit, 'as bi
 rānd ɐ'gʲien in ɐ'bāt ɐn āə(r), ɐn al liuk in,' bəd i wə feən tə
 get āt, ɐn ʒev nət sɪn im sin. Bili ɐn twaif krept upsteəz
 ɐ'gʲien, ɐn dʒust ɐz ʒed getn intə bed ʒe iəd 'kukū' wuns

muə(r). 'wel, ðis kaps oel et i ivər iəd tel on,' sed Bili. 100
 'its tlast nīt i ðis ās fə mī,' sed Džini. 'a wodnt stop iər
 if ðəd let mə liv rent-frī.' 'its nu(ə) ius gu-in dān-tsteəz
 ə'giən, iz it, las, wi krə find nout?' 'neə, wi məd džust əz
 wīl stop wie we āer ən kīp wokrə wol moənin.' ðe wispəd
 tə wun ən'uðə wol tū ə'tlok, ən ðen ðe iəd 'kukū' twais. 105
 'bi gum, its jondər ə'giən!' Bili sed, ən it oləs sānz i tseəm
 pleəs. av ə guid maind tə sit dān-tsteəs ə bit ən sī if i krə
 find it āt.' 'diu, Bili,' šu sed. Bili let tkanl, krept pratli
 dān-tsteəz, ən piəkt isen i trokin tšeə(r), bəd i suin fel
 ə'slip. i didnt iə tbəd šāt wen it wər oef past tū, nə Džini 110
 noəðə(r), fə šəd guən tə slīp tiu. Bili wokrəd džust ə'fue
 ʃrī ə'tlok, ən findin id bīn ə'slip, i dlanst rānd tās, bəd i soə
 nout. in ə bit tbəd kom āt ən šātəd 'kukū' ʃrī taimz.
 Bili kest iz in up et t'lok wen ə iəd it fəst taim, ən ðen i
 gat up tul it wen it šātəd tseknd taim, ən wen it šātəd 115
 tʃəd taim id ə guid liuk at it wol it popt in ən wə šut up.
 'oə, av fun ðə āt et last, ev i?' i sed. 'Džini! Džini! av
 fun tʃogəd āt; kum dān ən liuk at it.' 'wot iz it, Bili?'
 šu sed. 'its ə bəd getn intə t'lok,' sed Bili. Džini kom
 dān-tsteəz, ən ðen Bili went tə t'lok ən traid tə opm d'uə 120
 wiə tbəd wo(r), bəd i kudnt manidž it. 'ā ðə enments ez
 it getn ðiə(r)?' Džini sed. 'neə, a kan nət tel,' sed Bili.
 ðe buəʃ traid tə get et tbəd wol oef past ʃrī, wen it popt āt
 ən šātəd 'kukū,' ən ðen went in ə'giən. Bili traid to get
 od ont, bəd it wə tə šāp for im. 'ðat ən oud fešnd raskl, 125
 bi gum!' sed Bili, 'bəd ðal apm nət bi sə fleəd wen təz bīn
 iər ə de(ə) ə tū.' 'wel, Bili,' sed twaif, 'a nivə niu sitš ən
 ə ʃin i mi laif. av oməst ə guid maind tə nok it nek āt fə
 frītnin əz ən kīpin əz wokrə niəli oel tnīt. kil it fəst ʃin,
 ən let s e nə muə boðə wi it.' tlast et i iəd ə'bāt Bili ən is 130
 kukū tlok, i wə fiks in ə fāntn for it tə drīnk āt on, ən ə
 boks for it tə eit āt on, ə'said ə toil wiər it kept popin it iəd
 āt.

V.

UǼ Z TǼ BI TMEĒSTǼ(R) ?

ǰis ǝz ǝ kwešn ǝt oft kumz up fǝ dis'kušn, ǝn wen ǝ niuli
 wed kupl es tǝ di'said it ǰǝ sumtainz a loŋ wail ǝ'bāt it. i
 mi juŋ deǝz, wen a wǝ wǝkin ǝt tmln, niuz wǝ brout intǝ
 tmǝkanik šop ǝt Sam Wilmǝn ǝn An Aris wǝ bān tǝ bi wed ǝs
 5 tnekst sundǝ. ǰis niuz wǝ brout in dǰust ǝ'fuǝ tindǝn stopt
 ǝt brǝkfǝs taim, ǝn suǝ wen wǝd getn naisli set dān tǝ wǝ
 moǝnin miǝl oud Dik Tšǝri serǝ āt tǝ Sam—' wot, a ges ǰat
 bān tǝ bi wed tnekst sundǝ.' 'wa,' sed Sam, 'am ǰin'kin ǝ
 sumǝt ǝ tsuǝt.' 'wel, nā,' sez oud Dik, 'if tǝ miǝnz tǝ gu(ǝ)
 10 on smuiǰli ǝn bī ǝ api man, duǝnt spoil ǰi waif wi pamprin
 ǝ(r), ǝz if šǝ wǝr ǝ sik bān, bǝd bǝgin ǝs tǝ miǝnz tǝ kari
 on; if tǝ duznǝt, ǰal e tǝ riu. ǝt tvari taim ǝt oud Dik wǝ
 givin ǰis ǝd'vais tǝ Sam, ǝ lot ǝ wed wimin ǝd geǰǝd rānd
 An Aris i tweivin šǝad, ǝn ǰǝ sed tǝv ǝ(r), 'nā, An, las,
 15 wotivǝ tǝ duz, sī ǝt tǝ stanz up fǝ ǰi reits; duǝnt gi weǝ
 tul im ǝn inš. if tǝ wuns bǝginz tǝ nukl undǝr il mak ǝ
 kum'pliǝt sleǝv ǝn drudǰ on ǰǝ; its olǝs tbest weǝ tǝ bǝgin
 ǝz wǝ in'tend tǝ kari on.' its oft bin sed ǝt fouk rekrǝz
 nout ǝ ǝd'vais unles ǰǝ guǝ tǝv ǝ loǝjǝr ǝn peǝ siks ǝn
 20 eitpms fot; bǝd buǝǰ Sam ǝn An ǰout tǝd'vais ǰǝd getn wǝ
 wǝǰ aktin on. rent deǝz ǝn wedin deǝz 'wil kum ǝt last,
 ǰǝǝ lanloǝdz ǝn braidgriumz ǰin'ks ǰǝ kum on ǝt ǝ sneǝl
 galǝp, ǝn wen tnekst munde moǝnin kom rānd Sam ǝn An
 wǝ man ǝn waif. 'its siks ǝ'tlok bi ǰis wotš ǝ ǰain,' sed
 25 Sam, 'a ǰin'k its ǝ'bāt taim tǝ gat up ǝn let tfaǝ(r).' 'a
 wǝ dǰust ǰin'kin,' sed An, 'ǝt 'tād leǝd reǝǰǝ tǝ loŋ, get up
 wi ǰǝ, ǰal find sum kinlin i tuvm. 'a mǝn e ǰī tǝ get up,'
 sed Sam; 'es tǝ fǝgetn wot tǝ sed ǰǝstǝdǝ—didnt tǝ promis

tə luv, onər ən ə-beə?' 'am prə'peəd tə diu oəl i promist,'
sed An, 'bəd ə bodi kānt diu ivriþin ət wuns, al luv ən 30
onə ðə nā, if tɪ get up ən lit tfaie(r), ən wen tketl boilz ða
mən koəl mə dān-tsteəz ən al ə-beə ðə.' 'kum, kum,' sed
Sam, 'if tə þinkz tə kɹə traifl wi mə i ðis weə ðal find āt ði
mistak. a as ðə tə diu nout ət i kānt bak up wi skriptə(r),
fə sant Pītə sez—"waivz, nukl undə tə jər uzbnz." 'duz 35
ə?' sed An. 'al bə'liv it wen i sī it.' 'ðen ða sl suin sī it,'
sed Sam, ən i bānst āt ə bed ən ran dān-tsteəz in is šēt.
wol ə wə rumidžin ə-bāt fə t'estiment, wot duz An diu bəd
nip intə t'lozit, sam up oəl iz wātə thuez, flir əm dān tə
tbodm ə tsteps, bout t'seəmə duər i tinsaid, ən ðen kriþ bak 40
ə'gion intə bed. in ə bit, Sam in iz ərɪ tə get bak, gat wun
əv is fit feltəd in iz dudz, ən fel forəd, bumpin iz nuəz
ə'gion tšāp edž ə wun ə tsteps. ðis put im intəv ə bit əv ə
pešn, ən wen ə gat tə tsteəz iəd, ən fan d'uə fest, i sweər ə
gāt uəþ, ðəə id bīn ət t'šapil tñit ə'fuə(r). 'ðie lad,' sed 45
An, 'if təs swoən wi t'estiment i ði and, a wodnt bi ði fər
oəl tbras i tberək, ðez nuəbdi sə ādnd əs tə diu ðat nobəd
trif-raf ət gets intə tkuət-ās.' 'a tə bān tə opm d'uə ən
liuk ət ðis tekst?' sed Sam. 'al liuk at it, wen tə lets mə
no(ə) ət tketl z boilin, its nu(ə) ius getin up ə'fuə(r),' ən An 50
kuvəd ər iəd up i tbed thuez ən feə kinəkt ə'gion wi lafin, tə
þink ā šəd baflɪd im; bəd wen šə iəd tās duə guə tul wi
ə gāt berə, it put ə bit əv ə dampər on ə məriment.
'wieriəvə kan tmadlin bi of tul?' sed šū, 'a oməst wiš id
getn up misen ən let tfaie(r), its nuə gāt džob, ən if id jildəd 55
ðə wod ə bīn piəs bə'twin əz. wišt! a þink a iər is
fuit kumin up tsteps. if ə piþs þriu tlok-oil il bi eəbl
tə sī mə. al rekɹ tə bi ə'slip'. suə šu leəd wi ə feəs tə d'uər
ən stātəd ə snuarin laik ə peer ə blaksmiþ beləsəz ət əd getn
ə bad koud. in ə bit šu stātəd up ən leind on ər elbou ən 60
ākɹəd. šu iəd ə soft, pərin noiz ən nā ən ðen ə sānd əz if
sumət wə skratin wud. 'oə diə(r),' šu sed, 'its nuən im, its
nobəd tkat ət s mīdləs fər ə drop ə milk.' it wə nu(ə) ius
An trai-in tə foəl ə'slip, šu kudnt, suə šə dond ə'sen ən krept

65 reit pratli dān tsteəz. oel wər əs koud ən sailnt əz ə tšəts
 əv ə wikdeə. Sam wə nuəwiə tə bi sīn, bəd iz wātə dudz
 wə guən, suə šə niu id set of sumwiə(r)—bəd wiə(r)? šu
 samd up tfaie šul, þinʁkin šud guə tə tbodm ə tjad tə tkoil-
 oil ən fotš ə šulfl ə koilz, nət et šə þout ə litin tfaie(r), oə,
 70 nou, šud eit it suinə(r), bəd šud get oel redi fər im, su(ə) əz
 ə kəd ev ə bleəz in ə minit. bəd, bə-oud! wen šə wontəd
 tə gu(ə) āt šu fan et d'uə wə fest, ən šu kudnt opm it. šu
 wər ə priznə lokt up i tās. wen šə boutəd ə bed-rām duər
 ən bafld ər uzbn, šu laft reəli, þinʁkin it wər ə vari guid
 75 džuək; bəd wen šə wə bafld ən bestəd ə'sen šu kudnt laf.
 uðə fouk məd apm ə sīn tfun ont, bəd An didnt—šu brast
 āt ə ruərin. if šəd ed oni wāk tə guə tul šud ə guən tə
 tmln, if šə kəd ə getn āt ə tās; bəd šu ed nə wāk, šud gīn
 up ə liumz, fə Sam əd sed, 'ðasl nivə guə tə tmln ə'gion,
 80 las, əz lɔw əz a kɔ kīp ðə. wen šə bə-þout ər ə ðem wədz
 šu ruəd ādə nər ivər ən pūld sum eər of ər iəd ən flew it on
 tfluə(r), əz if ðat, sumā, kəd mend matəz. oel et wuns šə
 bə-þout ər et tnekst duə neəbər əd ə kei et əd opm ðeə
 duə(r), suə wen šəd bapt ər īn wi koud wotə(r), šu stātəd ə
 85 pundin tfaie bak wi tpuəkə(r). In ə bit tneəbə wumən kom
 āt ən steəd in et twində tə sī wot wər up. 'am lokt in,'
 sed An, 'a wont jə tə opm d'uə wi jāə kei.' tneəbə ran uəm
 fə tkei ən opmd d'uər in ə krak. 'wotivə did jər uzbn lok
 jə in fo(r)?' sed tneəbə(r). 'wa,' sed An, trai-in tə laf, it
 90 sīnz id fəgetn mə, it iznt twenti fouər āəz jət sin wi wə tīd
 tə'geðə(r), ən ə man kānt get intə niu weəz oel et wuns. a
 də se(ə) it əd tliən slipt iz maind et i ed ə waif, su(ə) iz lokt
 d'uər ən teən tkei in is pokit əz iuzl. Samz ə tšap et boðəz
 iz iəd ə guid bit wi tpəpetiuel muəšn. ən av īvm noən im
 95 set of tə tpump wi tfaie šul in iz and ən ðen kum slinʁkin
 bak fə twotə kit. puər An sed oel ðis in ə məri of-and weə
 et əd ə disievd tvari oud lad isen, bəd it didnt blind
 twumən et livd tnekst duə(r). əs šə went bak təv ər oən ās
 šu sed, lou dān, 'ðat wumən z bin ruərin, ðez ə fratš on bi
 100 nā.' wel, a diu þinʁk et ðat deə wə flɔnist, drī-ist, ən muəst

mizrebl dea et iver An ed past sin se we boen. wot ed
be'kum e Sam su kudnt im'adzn. i didnt kum nie fer e
bait e dine(r), et givin oue taim i nive tand up, en et ten
etlok et nit sed nive sin is fees. if se went wuns te tentri
end, su went e unded taimz i taē te ākn fer is fuit, bed it 105
wer oel i veen. Sam we noeðe te bi ied ne sin. twäst ont
wo(r), su kudnt fešn te gue sik for im, su felt ez if sed
reæðe di ner oni e tmiln lasēz sed no(e) et Sam ed left e
tvari de(e) afte twedin dea. oel þouts e komkrin er uzbn en
setin up fe tmeeste we skated te twind; it we fae bete te 110
bi oni suet ev e drudž en sleev ne liv ðat wea; su(e) et afte
ten etlok et nit, su kindl tfaier en meed ez nais e super ez
anz ked mak, net fer e'seln, bed fe Sam. es fer e su ednt etn
e mǣpfl oel ðat blesid dea, ne kudnt; ðe wer e lump in e
þroit se big et se kudnt swole et oel. es fe Sam, wier ed i 115
bin en wot ed i bin diu-in? afte lievin uem i went streit
tev iz wāk, gat iz brekfes en iz diner et e kofi-šop, en et oef
past faiv et nit wonded up en dān tstrits ez dezelet en
mizrebl ez oni man wil kan bi. ez e we moendrin up en
dān i ðis wea i gat mikst up wi e krād e fouk oel gu-in i 120
wun di'rekšn. i went wi tstriem, fer i didnt kea mitš wier
e went, en et last fan isen in e tšapil. in e wail en oud
man, wi e fees laik en eendžilz, stuid up en preitšt laik en
eendžil, preitšt pies be'twīn kuntri en kuntri, pies be'twīn
man en man, en last ev oel, pies be'twīn man en waif. it 125
simd te Sam ez if, sumwea, toud man ed getn te noe wot
wer up be'twīn im en twaif, fer i liukt streit et im en told
im ðe sed bi ne strugl fe tmeestēšip be'twīn man en waif, bed
et in oel þinz, big e litl, luv sed bi tmeeste(r). wen Sam
gat at e ðat tšapil iz at be'gan te sofn tād iz juw waif, te 130
mak eks'kiusez fer e kondukt, en after e despret batl wi is
praid et lasted wol e'levm p.m. i þout id gu(e) uem en trai
te fe'get en fe'giv. wen e gat nie tentri end, i tutšt e due
step wi is fuit, en we vari nie foelin. An so(e) im en ran
intē tās rinin er anz en krai-in 'oe diē(r), iz drukn, iz 135
druk. tpuē las dēsnt fees im i likē(r), suē se id e'sen

e'bak e tkitšin duə(r). in e bit Sam kom in, bəd nət drukn,
 i wə souber i'nif ən sorəfl i'nif. i sat im dān i tām tšeer ən
 liukt rānd. tfaiesaid wə wām ən brīt ən taidi, e nais supə
 140 wə redi, is slipez leen bi tfendə(r), ivriþin dun fər is
 kumfət et wumən kud diu. i leind bak in is tšeer ən šu
 kəd sī t'iez wun aftər ə'nuðə run sloəli dān is feəs. in e bit
 An ventəd tə kum āt ən sed pitifi, 'Sam!' i tēnd iz iəd, iz
 legz peetəd, ən i eld āt iz āmz. i les nər e tik-tak šə wə
 145 sietəd on iz nī, wi ər āmz rānd iz nek, sobin əz if ər āt əd
 brek. aftə ðat ðe wə nivə nout sed əs tə 'uə z tə bi
 tmeəstə(r)'; buəþ sed 'luv sl bi tmeəstə(r),' ən ðat satld it.

VI.

EN OUD BOIZ REKĒLEKŠNZ.

'tēnd fifti!' bi tmegez, bēd its taim tē bi liukin rānd
 tkoenēz nā, ən nuē mis'tak. džust ē bit lomēr ən as bi wun
 ē ģem lenki tšaps bāt šuin, ən stokinz ivē sē mitš tē big, ət
 Wiliēm toeks ē'bat i tpleē. bēd a nuēn laik it, ən ģat s
 flat. wen ē tšap kumz tē ģat, wot kumz tēv im? wa, iz 5
 nokt ē'bat priu pilē tē puēst, ən tmuēst ət fouk se(ə) on im
 iz—'ai, puēr oud tšap, is sīn iz best deēz.' its tšiofl, kum-
 fētin toek iz ģat fēr ē tšap ət s muild ən broild, ən duin iz
 best tē kīp bodi ən soul tē'geðe(r), ən apm riēd ē lot ē jun
 ENZ tē elp tē kari on twēligig biznēs ē twēld. aftēr oel its 10
 laik stopin ət ē guid beētin šop wen ē tšap s reikt iz oēf
 sentri, ēz it giz im ē tšons ē samin isen tē'geðe laik, ən
 makin ē dženrēl balēns up ē oel iz dun ən left undun. a
 wundēr ā moni on ēz l bi eēbl tē stand it ən kum of wi ē
 balēns ē treit said! am fit tē piŋk ģēz nobēd iēr ən ģiē wun. 15
 ēs fē misen, al tak tult ən mak nē buēnz ē'bāt it—av bīn ē
 reglē raskl priu tfēst wik a wē boēn. mi muðē s sed suē
 moni ē taim, su(ə) it mun bi triu. ā-ivēr a kēd fešn tē liuk
 ər it fēes aftē t'aimz šēs tēld mē ģat, a kanēt imadžin, ən
 am nuēn bān tē dis'piut it, nēt ai. ģēz moni pāzn muē bīn 20
 tēld tseēm teēl. su(ə) as nuēn bi bāt kumpni. bēd liēvin
 džuēkin ē'said, a riēli ən onistli bē'līv a wēr ē raskl i mi jun
 deēz. tnumēr ē kitlinz iv pŋotld, duks iv tŋaid tē mak
 piēk, dŋŋkiz teēlz iv prikt, prēsāvz iv stoun, tluēs-kuēdz iv
 snikt, windež iv brokŋ, fati-keēks iv etn, ən misdēmienēz 25
 bāt numēr ət ēd ē bīn ē erin džob i toud fešnd taimz wen
 erin wē fešnebl. oel ģiēz kraimz ən moni muē raiz up

laik guēsts kundžəd bi ðem tū wēdz—‘tēnd fifti.’ a meē
bi þout ə braznt ānd, bəd ðes sum ə mi triks al bi enəd if
30 im sori fo nā! a wodnt giv ə tos fər ə junstər ət eznt ə spāk
ə divlri əbāt im. wot if ə duz galəp þriu ə siut ə tū ə tluəz
ə jia(r). ad reəðə peə fər ə siut ə kuədiroi nər ə wudn ən
oni taim. ðe wər ə trik a wuns pleəd toud skuil misis, oud
Mali Begstə wī koəld ə(r). ə reər oud las wə Mali i d’eəz
35 bəfuə skuil buədʒ ən buəd skuilz wə þout on. šu wər əbat
tšap əv ə beəl ə botni, wi ə feəs laik ə raizin sun stikin āt
ə t’op; litl fat āmz, ən anz əz big əz ə šūldər ə mutn. šu
kəd noəðə rid nə rait, bəd ðat didnt matər i ðem deəz. šu
wər eəbl tə beək avə-keək, ā-ivə(r), ən ðat wər ə muə
40 konsikwens tə Mali. wel, wot bətwīn beəkin avə-keək ən
liukin aftər əbāt twenti bānz, Mali əd ə wāk set. a duənt
no(ə) ā šəd ə getn on, if šə ednt ə ed tə iuz ə þibl i tavə-
keək biznəs. it kom in sə andi tə wokn uz jun ənz up wi,
ən kīp əs þriu fratšin. it wər ə bit oəkəd sumtaimz wen
45 Mali əd bin stərin tþin uət-meil, ən sudnli snigd tþibl āt tə
gi sum on əz ə swiləker on tsaid ə tfeəs. toud las wə reəðə
fond ə wopin mī, bəd a di:tāmind tə e mi ri:vendž, ən wun
de(ə) ad ə fain tšons. Mali wə dān ə wun fuit, ət reəðə
spoild ə woəkin. ðe wər ə peər ə kats ət toud las wə vari
50 fond on, suə wot did i diu bəd tī buəþ ðə teəlz təgeðər ən
in əm ouə tband wiə Mali un əv avə-keək. a niu šəd fleər
up di:rektli šə soə tkats i ðə kwie pə:zišn. a niu tiu ət šəd
mak streit fə mī wi tþibl, suə di:rektli a so(ə) ə kumin a
wopt ə soft avə-keək on tə tfluə reit i toud las weə, ən dān
55 šə kom əs flat əz ə flāndə(r). bai gou, wornt ðər ə meələk
i tmiul-oil oəl in ə minit. toud wumən fiumd ən rould
əbāt, wi ə šoət leg stikin up i teə(r); tkats splutəd ən feət;
tladz ən lasəz ran skamperin āt intə tstrit; ən ai wər əbāt
tfəst on əm, fər a niu wot əd apm if i didnt kut mi stiks.
60 eə diə(r), ðem oud fešnd taimz! ðez nuə sitš meələkin i
ðiez deəz! ast laik tə sī tlad wi tþluk tə sāv sitš ən ə trik
on ə skuil buəd misis! wə, id bi wəþ iz weit i Džiudi Barit
umbugz. wel, aftər id ed ə fəst-reət skuilin, sitš əz ladz

gat i ðem deez, a wē put prentis tēv ē gruēsē(r). nā, a duēt
 no(ē) ē muē trai-in sitiweēšn fēr ē lad wi ē weeknēs fē swīt 65
 stuf nēr evin trun ēv ē gruēsē šop—ðat iz, wol ē gets ē
 reglē siknēr ēn ðen il wiš isen ēt tnoēþ poul, ē sum sitš spot
 wiē ðē sāk ais-šaklz fē ðē foēnuin drinkin. litl Nati Belšē
 wē mi meestē(r), ēn a wē wot ðē koel ē indue prentis, witš
 ment nout bēd wāk, de(ē) in ēn de(ē) āt, ēn sleēvin ēwēē tū 70
 ē þrī nīts bē'said, wēn ðē wēr out tē diu i wēi-in punz ē
 siugēr ēn penēþs ē suēþ, ēn sitš laik. a didnt sē mitš keē fē
 ðat ēt fēst, kos ad ē fain tšons ē pitšin intē figz ēn reēzinz,
 ēn siugē kandi, ēn traiflz ē ðat suēt, bēd, bi gou, ðat suēt ē
 þin duznt last fēr ivē(r). its kapin ā suin swīt stuf gets ēz 75
 bitēr ēz goel wēn ē tšap ēz is ful swin at it. ai imadžin its
 ēbāt tseēm wi wot ðē koel tplezēz ē ðis wēld i dženrēl.
 ā-ivēr it tiuk ē bit ē taim tē brin mē tē tstoēleisn point,
 apm ē bit lomē nēr it ēd ē dun sum ladz, ēn bēfuēr it did
 ad reēðēr ē kwier ēd-ventē(r). mi misis wēr ē bit ēv ē 80
 skriu, ēn kēd ādli þoil mē i'nif tē eit, su(ē) a tiuk it āt i
 siugē kandi ēr out ēt i laik tē tšop, ēn nout bēd reit,
 noēðē(r). ā iz ē grou-in lad tē þraiv bāt džok? wēl, it
 apmd wun sundē tmoēnin ēt i felt oēfl pekiš aftē mi
 brekfēs, ēn ad etn ivri moēsl up ēt toud las put āt. a 85
 dēsnt as fē nē muēr ēr els ast ē getn ē fli i mi iēr-oil. ad
 getn dond redi fē tšapil, fē toud las wē vari pē-tiklēr ēbāt
 mē bi-in reit brout up, šu sed, if šē did pinš mē i vitlz. i
 ðem deez ladz laik mī wēē beles-kaps wi taslz on, ēn rānd
 krimpt kolēz, ēn al stand it a wēr ēs fain ēz onibodi mi saiz, 90
 bēd wot s ðat wēn ē tšap s pinšt in iz džok. wēl, it wē
 getin vari niē tšapil taim, ēn a niu a sēd ē tē meetš i tfrunt
 ē Nati ēn twaif, bēd if jēl bē-liv mē, ad ðat kreēvin i mi
 insaid a kēd ēv etn ē bit ē rainosērēs, aid ēn oēl. suē wot
 did i diu bēd nip intē tšop tē get sumēt tē lain mi stumēk 95
 wol dinē taim. a niu ad nē biznēs ðier ē sundēz, bēd
 uēē(r), ðē sēē, iz ē šāp þōēn, ēn bi gou its triu. wēl, a ednt
 bin i tšop ē minit wēn i iēd tmisis sinin āt—'Džosiue!
 Džosiue!' ðat wē mi neēm, ēn toud las wē sīkin mē. bēd

- 100 a wə nuən bān tē liēv bāt sumət, su(ə) a seəz od əv ə šaiv ə
unikeek ət toud las ius tē mak up tē sel—reit swīt stuf it
wo(r)—slapt it intē mi beləs-kap āt ə tsīt, ən gat tē d'uə
džust əs tmisis wə bə'ginin tē bel āt 'Džosiue'! ə'gion. su(ə)
of wi set tē t'šapil. eə, diə(r)! it wə twāst diu ivər i ed,
105 wə šat. it wə reəðər ə wām moənin ən a wə swiətin laik ə
brok fə fiə toud las səd səspekt sumət. a dəsnt tak mi kap
of, kos a wə woəkin džust i tfrunt ə buəp tmeəstər ən
tmisis, bəd it wər ə roki ruəd tē Džoədn, wə šat woək! əz
a wāmd up a kəd fīl tunikeek stərin ə mi iəd əz if it wə
110 wik, bəd on a məd guə. ət last wi gat tē tprimitiv šop, ən
ef kuəs a ed tē dof mi beləs-kap. wel, wot wi twām
moənin ən mī swiətin, tunikeek wə stuk fest on t'op ə mi
iəd, ən wə bə'ginin tē swiəl dān tsaidz ə mi fəəs tē šat
də'grī wol ad ə unikeek wig ən nuə mistak. a wiənt tel
115 oəl id tē undəguə priu šat džob, bəd a bleəm tmisis fər it
oəl i nət findin mē džok i'nif. av stoun moni ə anfl ə figz,
ən reəzinz, ən piŋz ə šat suət, if šə koəl it steilin, bəd ai
duənt wen ə grou-in lad eznt i'nif grub gīn im, aftər iz adld
it əz ai did wi Nati Belšə(r). eə wel; ā šiez ladiš teəlz kum
120 tēv ə bodiz maind; ən a nobəd menšn əm tē šeu ət ladz—
rasklz əz šə āə(r)—ānt suə wišāt koəz sumtaimz. šez nuə
tū weəz ə'bāt it; moni on əm əd bi vari difrnt if šə wə reit
duin tul. am piŋkin šes sum əv uz oud boiz ev ə lot tē
ansə for i šat biznəs. bəd a dārent gu(ə) on ə bit lomə(r),
125 šoe its kapin wot ə lot ə piŋz duz kum intēv ə tšaps iəd
wol is smūkin ə paip ən piŋkin ə'bat bi-in tēnd fifti.

VII.

TOUD SĀM TIUN.

sum kouks wāmd mi nīz wi ðe dul red iet
wen id swoled mi milk ən pobz,
sue tlois up tē tfendər a pūld mi siēt
ən a plantəd mi fīt ə tobz.

ðen lītin mi šoet blak paip, a swun 5
reit bak i mi oud ām tšee(r),
ən a sat wotsīn trik əz it reez ən un
laik ə spērit i tmidnīt ee(r).

sistə Mali ən tbānz wər ə'slīp upsteez—
ðe wə piēs wi ðat bleetin kriū— 10
su(ə) a smūkt ən a pout ə mi weestəd jiez,
ən ə twāk et wə jēt tē diu.

əz a liukt et ðis laif ən et tlaif tē bī,
a sed tē misen, "ðā as!
wi kumfēt ða noəðe kən liv nē dī, 15
fē ðas seəvd noəðe soul nē bras."

ðen spai-in oud Seetn ə'straid ə t'lād
et wər un undə t'seəmə fluə(r),
a dubld mi neiv ən sed, "āk ðe, lad,
al bi didld wi ðī nē muə(r); 20

if mi sinz bi laik liəd, ən laik koək mi pēs,
wa ðez nuəbdi bəd ðī tē þenk;
bəd wen twēldz ə wik oudə(r), ðā gēnin kēs,
as e bīn buəp tē t'sētš ən tē tberk."

ŝen sum minits past oue mē, sad en drī, 25
 en mi þouts griu ez dāk es tñit,
 wen sum drukn oud alz et ed bīn on tsprī
 kom sīn laik mad up tstrīt.

wi ŝer anz en ŝe fit ŝe kept biētin t'aim
 ez ŝer āmz intē tee wē flun, 30
 eē! en twēdz ev e godlēs en sili raim
 tēv en oud sām tiun ŝe sun.

ai! t'aimz et iv dżoind i ŝat grand oud eē(r),
 wen oud frenz et mi said wē sīn,
 wen mi laif wēr e sunšaini alidē, 35
 en ŝis wiznd oud wēld wē grīn.

i tlīt ev e sun ets lōw sīn set
 a sī t'sapil e P(r)imruez Brā,
 en wot frenz on e sabēþ deē ŝier ez met
 et fēr ivēr es peetēd nā. 40

ŝe kum en ŝe smail en e·weē ŝe pas,
 bēd ŝe olēs liēv wun i viu—
 e puē litl faðēlēs kuntri las,
 et wuns sat i tsirēz piu.

wun kām sumē nīt ez wē sen tlast im 45
 ŝu liukt i mi feēs reit ād;
 en e lips wē wait en er īn wē dim
 wen i dżoind er i t'sapil jād.

en ŝu sed tē mē, "Ben, a fil feēnt en il,
 ŝa mēn gi mē ŝi ām, oud lad;" 50
 en ŝu wisped sum wēdz et i þirnk on stil,
 fē ŝe meēd mē reit prād en dlād.

su(ē) a elpt e wi keēr ouē reēl en stail,
 wol wē gat tēv e geēdin duē(r),
 ŝen ŝu eld mē bi tand sitš e lōw, lōw wail— 55
 en a so(ē) er e·laiv nē muē(r).

wel, ʒis wāld gets əs koud ən əz ād əs stil,
 ən et taimz a fil feən ʒəz diəd,
 fə ʒəd ād tə sleəv et ə lium ən wīl
 fər ə moəsil ə onist briəd.

60

mue nə twenti jiə ʒuz bin diəd ən guən,
 bəd wierivə mi lot mə bī,
 wen tās əz oəl wišt ən im left ə-luən,
 ʃu oləs kumz bak tə mī.

av wišt et id teld ə bi tgeədin duə(r)
 ā dīp wə mi luv ən triu,
 fər ə frenz, puə las, ʒe wə feu ən puə(r)—
 bəd nue matə(r), a ʒinək ʒə niu.

65

ā! if ivər i get tə jond pleəs əbūn,
 wier i lew i mi āt tə bī,
 džust tə iər ə wuns mue sin ʒat oud sām tiun
 əl bi evm əv itseln tə mī.

70

VIII.

TŠOET TAIMƏ(R).

it wə misti ən frosti ən dāk əz ə buit,
ən sə koud jəd ə pitid ə tuəd,
wen i iəd tə mi ɸinˌkin ə lit litl fuit
pit-patin bə-int mə ə truəd.

nā, ət faiv ər oəfˌpast, əv ə koud wintə moən, 5
ad nuə ɸouts əv ə kumreəd ət oəl,
su(ə) a stuid wol ʒə kom up ə bit əv ə bān,
laik ə pegi-stik eərin ə šoəl.

‘olou, las,’ a sed, əz a tapt ər ə tkrān,
‘ʒal bi duin for i trivər ə tkiln; 10
wot ātə, jə munˌki, ən wilər ātə bān?’
sez šū, ‘ə šoet taimə tə tmln.’

‘if ʒat meəstər ə ʒain z oni tšildə(r)’ a sed,
‘a səd laik əm tə meətš ət ʒi bak;
bəd, a ges, if təd leəd ən āə lonər i bed 15
ət treəd əd bəˌgin tə bi slak.’

‘ai! meəstə,’ šu sed, ‘av iəd tɡuvnə swiər
ət iz meəd nout bi t’reəd fə ʒis eədž,
ən iz oəsəz ən karidžəz nips im sə beə
wol ə ādli kən ɸoil tə gi weədž. 20

‘ʒen iz bout ən iˌsteət, ən iz bīldin ə ās,
eə! ən tkost ont nə moətl noəz jət;
if wə pinš wol wə kubədz wiənt peəstər ə mās
i kən nobəd džust stand on is fīt.

‘i sez fərinəz latli əz meed ə gēt sprin, 25
 ən ðe liv on tšopt kabiðž ən seəm;
 su(ə) it uinz im, jə sī, tə šut bras laik ə kin,
 ən ðen sel i tseəm meəkits wi ðem.

‘if wə duənt wēk fə litl, wi muənt wēk et oəl,
 ən mi granfaðə sed jəstənīt 30
 if it wornt fə tšoet taiməz et tsistm əd foəl,
 ən tpliūšə kum bak intə tstrīt.’

a liukt of tī end et ðat wiznd oud bān,
 ən a sed, ‘it əpiəz laik tə mī
 et tfaktri ən tmanšn ən tmeən ə tkonsān 35
 əz upodn bi midžez laik ðī.

iər a peətəd wi tbān, ən a kudnt bəd laf,
 ðo(ə) a felt nuən sə mitš et mi iəz,
 fər a þout tə miseln—its ə boni kum of
 if wə propt bi sitš piləz əz ðiəz. 40

IX.

NATĒRIN NAN.

nue dāt jēl oēl ēv iēd ē·bāt
tēpolē Belvēdiē(r),
ē stati þout bi sum tē bī
frē ivri feēlin tliē(r).

oēl reit ēn streit i mak ēn šap,
ē moud fē treēs ē men:
ē dānreit, upreit, berup tšap,
nēt mitš unlaik misen.

5

nā, šoē jē no(ē) iz nout bēd stuēn,
i liuks sē grand ēn big,
ēt litl dōst jē pūl iz nuēz,
ē lug is twistēd wig.

10

pratli, reit pratli ouē tfluē(r)
ē tip-ē-tuēz jē woek,
ēn od jē briēþ fē vari oē,
ēn wispe wen jē toek.

15

šiez šat ē·bāt im—bēd a noēnt
nēt reitli ā tē sē t—
ēt maks jē fil ēz smoel ēs þivz
ē·nent ē madžistreet.

20

jēv sīn šat dolt ē muki tleē
ē tfeēs ē Pudse Duēz;
toud madlin z woēn it oēl iz laif,
ēn fansid it ē nuēz.

jond props ez laik ə peər ə tɛrɜz 25
 ə Saiksez, jɛt, bi tmegz,
 wen i wə souber ez ə dʒudʒ
 av iəd im koəl ɔm legz.

su(ə) evm bi preəzd fə self konseət;
 wiðāt it, a səd seə, 30
 wist eət wəsen wi oəl wə mīt
 fər iver ən ə deə.

wen weəstəz liuks ət tmābl god,
 īgoi! ā waid ðe geəp,
 ən wundə witš ðe feəvə tmuest— 35
 ə bogəd ər ən eəp.

ən sum wi envi ən wi spait
 geɪ fild tə ðat dəgri
 ðəd nok iz nuəz of, if ðə dəst,
 ə giv im ə blak ī. 40

ī sumā kests ə lit ə ɸirɜz
 ət fouk nuən wonts tə sī;
 ðez feu laiks telin wot ðə āə(r),
 ə wot ðə out tə bī.

wa, wa, pəfekʃn nivə did 45
 tə Admz bānz bəleɪ;
 ən liuk ət moətlz wen wə wil,
 wis find ə sumət reɪ.

oud Adm gat sə mešt wi tfoəl
 ət oəl ə tiəmən reəs 50
 grouz sadli āt ə šap i tmaind,
 i tkeəkəs, ən i tfeəs.

ðez nuən sə blind bəd ðeə kɪ si
 ə fout i uðə men;
 av sumtaimz met wi fouk ət ɸout 55
 ðə soə wun i ðesen.

ən tbest ə tšaps l find ʃesen
 ət taimz i tfouti tlas;
 av dubld neiv əfuə tə-deə
 ət tful i tsīmin dlas.

60

bəd twāst ə fouts ət aiv sīn jət,
 i wumən ər i man,
 is twiəri, neəgin, nēwin tən
 ət pleəgd puə natərin Nan.

a went wun sumər aftənuin
 tə sī ə puər oud man.
 ən ādli ed i dākɹəd d'uə(r),
 wen twerit ʃus bə'gan:

65

'eə! wə! did ivə(r)! wot ə triət
 tə sī ʃi faʃəz sun;
 kum forəd, lad, ən sit ʃə dān,
 ən al set tketl on.'

70

'neə, neə,' a sez, 'am nuən ə ʃem
 ət koəlz ət t'aim bi t'lok,
 ən bumps əm dān i tkoənə tšee(r),
 ən dluez reit ād ət tdžok.'

75

ʃā nuənkeət, wi tə od ʃi tun?
 il suin bi iər a ʃinɹk,
 suə, if tə l sit ən lit ʃi paip,
 al fotš ə suəp ə drinɹk.

80

'oud las,' sez ai, 'ʃat ei i buən,
 ən reəʃə lou i bīf.'
 'ai, bān,' sez šū, 'ʃis jīər ə tū
 av ed ə diəl ə grīf.

'am nət ə wumən ət oft speiks,
 ə sinɹz fouk duəlfɹ senɹz,
 bəd ai kɹ tel mi maind tə ʃi,
 ʃa noəz wot ʃinɹz bə'leɹɹz.

85

‘ðaz nuetist ai nuen liukt sē stāt,
 . en ai kr̥ triuli seō, 90
 frē tlast bak end ē tjiē tē nā
 av net bīn wīl ē deē.

‘en wot wi siknēs, wot wi grīf,
 am duin ða meē di’pend—
 its bīn ē wiēri muild en teu, 95
 bēd nā it gets niē tend.

‘av bout oel tsister et i ev
 ē blak mērainē gān;
 fouks þīnks am reeli of, bēd, lad,
 am þer̥kf̥l et im bān. 100

wi twēld, en ivriþīn et s int,
 am krost tē ðat dē’grī
 et moni ē taim i d’ēē av preēd
 tē lig mē dān en dī.

‘wot aiv tē tak frē tliēst i tās 105
 ēz muē nē fleš kēn biē(r);
 it iznt dżust ē taim bi tšons,
 bēd ivri de(ē) i tjiē(r).

nuē livin soul etop ē tiēþ
 wē traid ēz aiv bin traid; 110
 ðez nuēbdi bēd ðē Loēd en mī
 et noēz wot iv ed tē baid.

frē twind i tstumēk, triumētizm,
 en tēnin peēnz i tgiūm,
 frē kofs en kouds en tspain i tbak, 115
 av sufēd mātēdium.

bēd nuēbdi pitiz mē ē þīnks
 am eēlin out et oel;
 tpue sleēv mēn tug en teu wi twāk
 wol ivē šū kēn kroel. 120

‘en Džoni z tmueſt unſilin briut
 et ivə weər ə iəd:
 i wodnt weg ə and ə fuit
 if ai wər oel bəd diəd.

‘i tmidst ə oel iv ed tə diu 125
 ʒat ruæg wə nivə tman
 tə fotʒ ə koil, ə skāər ə fleg,
 ə weš ə pot ə pan.

‘fouk sez āə Sal l suin bi wed,
 bəd tɔʊts ont tēnz mə sik; 130
 ad reəðər in ər up bi tnek,
 ə sī ə bərid wik.

‘en if i ɔʊt ə bān ə main
 wə boən tə liəd mai laif,
 a sudnt ɔɪŋk it wor ə sin 135
 tə stik ə wi mi naif.

‘av ast āə Džoni twenti taimz
 tə brin ə swip tə d’uə(r);
 bəd nā əfuər il speik ə’gien
 al sit i tās ən smuə(r): 140

‘en ʒen—guid greišəs, wot ə wind
 kumz wiuwin ɔɪu d’uə snek;
 a felt it oel tlast wintə(r), laik
 ə witl et mi nek.

‘ʒat sin k paip, tiu, gat stopt wi muk 145
 əbūn ə fotnit sin,
 su(ə) ivri āər i d’əə wi tslops
 am trešin āt ən in.

‘oel wen i ɔɪŋk ā aiv bin tret,
 ən ā i teu ən straiu— 150
 tə tel ʒə tonist triuɔ, am kapt
 tə find miseln əlaiu.

‘wen iz bin reekin āt ə tni̇t,
 ət tmeəkit ər ət tfeə(r),
 sitš ɣouts əs kum intə mi iəd 155
 əz liftəd up mi eə(r).

‘av ɣout, “ai, lad, wen tā kumz uəm,
 ʒal find mə un bi tnek;”
 ən ʒen av me bi ɣout ə'giən
 ət kuəd əd apm brek. 160

‘ər els av mutəd, “if it wornt
 sə dāk, ən koud, ən wet,
 ad guə tə tnavi ə tə d'am
 ən drānd miseln tə-ni̇t.”

‘its grif, lad, nout ət oəl bəd grif, 165
 ət weəsts mə deə bi deə;
 suə Seətn temps mə, kos im weak,
 tə put miseln ə'weə.'

toud tšap iəd peət ə wot šə sed
 əz i kom tlompin in, 170
 ən šätəd in ə red feəst reədž,
 ‘od, rot it! od ši din.'

ʒen Nan bə-gan tə froɣ ən fium,
 ən fiz laik botld drink;
 ‘wot, ʒen, ʒaz entəd tās ə'giən, 175
 ʒa ofld liukin slin̄k!

‘ʒa nivə kumz ʒiez duəz wiʒin
 bəd ʒā mən kəs ən swiə(r),
 ən straiv tə brin̄ mə tə mi greəv
 wi bridin əriz iə(r). 180

‘frə ʒi̇ ən ʒain sin wed wə wo(r)
 av teən nu(ə) end ə grif,
 ən nā ʒa stamps mə undə tfuit,
 ʒā mēʒərin ruəg ən ɣif.

‘ðā viln, gi mæ wot i brout 185
 ðat de(ə) ət wī wæ wed,
 ən nivə muə wi wun laik ðī
 wil ai set fuit i bed.’

iə d’oudi liftəd tæv ər in
 ə jɪəd ə linin tšek, 190
 ən sobd ən ruəd ən rokt əsen,
 əz if ər āt əd brek.

ən ðen šu reəv reit up bi truits
 ə anfl əv ər eə(r),
 ən fitəd laik ə dī in duk, 195
 ən šutəd āt ə t’šəə(r).

‘æ! Džoni, run fə d’oktə(r), lad,
 a fil a kānt tel ā;’
 sez Džoni, ‘lit ði paip ə’giən
 šul kum ə’bāt i-nā.’ 200

bəd betər ed it bin fər im
 if id niə stəd ə peg;
 mai geətez! wot ə poəz i gat
 frə Nanz riumatik leg.

suin, vari suin, šu kom ə’bāt 205
 ən flur ən teər ən reəv,
 i sitš ə we(ə) əs feu kəd diu
 wi wun fuit i ðə greəv.

ðen at it went ə tur ə’giən
 ðat minit šu gat iəz, 210
 ‘ðā viln, ða, ða noəz ði weəz
 brɪnz on sitš gōdz əz ðiəz.

‘æ! if təd straik mæ stif ət wuns,
 ə stab mæ tə mi āt,
 a ðen kəd dī kontent, fə fouk 215
 wəd noə reit wot tə āt.

‘unfīlin briut! unfīlin briut!
 a niə wə wīl ən stroɹ;
 ʒez nobəd wun ɸiɹ tʃiəz mə nā—
 a kan nət last sə long.

220

‘tə stand up fər ə ɸiɹ ət s reit
 it iznt i mi neətə(r);
 ʒez fouk ət noəz i oləs wo(r)
 ə puə(r), soft, kwaiət kriətə(r).

‘wun ɸiɹ ai kɹ seə, if tə-nīt
 mi laif səd end it liəs,
 av duin mi diuti ən ʒa noəz
 av oləs strivm fə ɸiəs.

225

‘a no(ə), a no(ə), ət im i tgeət—
 ʒaz uʒər uəts tə ɸreʃ,
 suə, wen im duin fo(r), ʒā mə wed
 jond guid fə nout juɹ treʃ.’

230

ʒen Nan pūld sumət āt ə d'roə(r),
 wait əz ə sumə tlād,
 sez ai tə Džoni, ‘wot s ʒat ʒiə(r)?’
 sez Džoni, ‘its ə šrād.

235

‘ən kofin kom tiu, bəd a sweə(r)
 a wodnt et i tās;
 suə wen šez miuld šə seuz ət ʒat,
 əs kwaiət əz ə mās.’

240

puə Nan liukt at mə wi ə liuk
 sə jondəli ən sad:
 ‘ʒal kum tə tɒrin?’ ‘jəs,’ a sed,
 ‘a sal bi vari dlad.’

‘ʒen bid ʒi muʒə(r), Džoni kraid,
 ‘ən as ʒi unəkl Ben;
 ən oəl ə preəz fə sudn diəɸ
 sl e mibest “eəmen.”’

245

NOTES.

The (·) denotes that the following syllable has the strong stress, thus *asem·ive* (I. 3), *·aim* (I. 4). Before beginning the Specimens the reader is advised to read over §§ 249, 260, 341, 350 in the Grammar. In order to facilitate the reading of the Specimens, I have written *get up* instead of *ger up*, *wot iz it ?* instead of *wor iz it ?* etc. See § 290.

III.

Line 4, *fot for it*. 11, *jie* (§ 337). 17, on forms like *we(ə)* see § 193. 22, *čie* see § 354. 26, *tm̃tin* *class meeting*, *prayer meeting*. 34, *nuen* (§§ 357, 399). 37, on *wel* beside *wil* see § 399. 63, *sum en mad* (lit. *some and mad*, a very common phrase) *very angry*. 73, *sitš en e* (§ 340). 80, on (see page 73 note). 89, *bizm* (lit. *besom*) *good-for-nothing*. 99, *āez* read *āz ours*. 100, *wi e tlate(r)* *and at the same time inflicted blows upon them*. 101, *pinz* here used contemptuously of Grace's children. 106, *mel ne mak* pleonastic for *meddle*. 107, *če* (see page 112). 109, *en oel* (§ 399). 118, *Džemeeke* *Jamaica rum*.

IV.

Line 2, *eeles ale-house, beer-house*. 3, *də* (§ 390). 5, *ont of it*. 11, *Ned e oud Bilz Ned* (*the son*) *of old Bill*. 14, *tšet* (§ 381). 23, *sečē* (lit. *see thee*) *look !* 34, *dān-tsteez* lit. *down the stairs*. 38, *strak* (§ 363). 52, *Bili* (§ 339). 88, *must* (§ 392). 108, *let* (§ 381). 128, *it* (§ 351).

V.

Line 14, *tweivin šeed the weaving shed.* 25, *te thou* (§ 350). 46, *tes thou hast.* 56, *wišt hush!* 104, *tentri end the end of the passage.* 136, *like(r)* (lit. *liquour*) *drink.*

VI.

Line 8, *muild en broild struggled hard.* 25, *snikt cut.* 32, *wudn en* (lit. *wooden one*) *coffin.* 42, *if sē ednt ē ed* (lit. *if she had not have had*) *if she had not had.* This construction only occurs in subordinate sentences, and has probably arisen from contamination with such phrases as, *šud* or *šed ē dunt she would have done it*; *tladz ed ē guen the boys would have gone.* We generally say *ad ē lend jet if jed nobed ē ast me I would have lent you it, if you had only (have) asked me.* Cp. the end of §§ 389, 397. 48, *we dān ē wun fuit was down of one foot, i. e. one of her legs was longer than the other.* 59, *kut mi stiks make myself scarce.* 86, *ē flī i mi ier-oil a box on the ears.* 93, *šat*, see § 399. 100, *seez* (§ 382). *mēd* (§ 392).

VII.

Line 53, *stail* is the lit. Engl. form, see § 315. The same is also the case with *midžez* (VIII. 36).

IX.

After line 200 the following four lines have been inadvertently omitted in our Specimen:—

sez ai, 'a nivē so(ə) ē tšap
sē iēzifl en fat;
šal siuēlī len ē elpin and
tē lift ər of ē tplat.'

INDEX.

[The alphabetical order in the Index is:—a, b, d, e, e, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, š, t, þ, ð, u, v, w, z, ž.

The numbers after a word refer to the paragraphs in the Grammar. When no number occurs after a word it means that the word occurs only in the Specimens.]

a *I*, 350.
 ā *how*, 171, 399.
 abed *yes but*, 291.
 abit *habit*, 194.
 ād *hard*, 61.
 Adkissn *Atkinson*, 267, 291.
 adl *to earn*, 57, 257.
 ādli, *hardly*, 399.
 ādn *to harden*, 61, 247.
 āe(r) *our*, 172, 351.
 āe(r) *hour*, 236.
 āe(r) *are*, 61.
 afte(r) *after*, 57, 400.
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 ai *yes*, 399.
 aid *hide*, 175, 361.
 aidl *idle*, 156.
 aien *iron*, 157, 259.
 aie(r) *to hire*, 176.
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 ain *hind*, 156, 268, 303.
 ais *ice*, 156.
 ais-šaklz *icicles*.
 aiv *hive*, 175, 283.
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aivi *ivy*, 156.
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 al *I will*, 250.
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 ali *aisle, alley*, 194.
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 alz *fools*.
 am *am*, 57.
 am *ham*, 57.
 ām *arm*, 61.
 ām *harm*, 61.
 ame(r) *hammer*, 57, 243.
 amet *am not*, 272, 396.
 āmive(r) *however*, 171, 399.
 and *hand*, 57.
 ānd *hound*, 115.
 anfl *handful*, 299.
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 ap *to wrap up (with clothes)*,
 57, 317.
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 270, 399.
 apren *apron*, 196.
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 arend *notoriously bad*, 207.
 arend *spider*, 194, 304.
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 as (aks) *to ask*, 125, 312.
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 āsemivē(r) *howsoever*, 399.
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 as-midin *ash-pit*, 57, 312.
 at *hat*, 57.
 āt *heart*, 74.
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 bad (pret.) *invited*, 57, 373.
 bai *to buy*, 315, 382.
 baid *to endure, put up with*,
 wait, stop, remain, 156,
 361.
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 bak *back*, 57.
 bāk *bark*, 61, 312.
 bāk *to bark*, 74.
 bake *tobacco*, 246.
 baked *backward*, 243.

bakedz *backwards*, 251.
 bākm *collar of a horse*, 74,
 315.
 bak-stn *the iron plate on*
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 70.
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 bām *barm*, 74.
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 bānti *bounty*, 235.
 bare *barrow*, 57, 243.
 baril *barrel*, 194.
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 bap *bath*, 57, 306.
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 beek *to bake*, 70, 312.
 beekes *bakehouse*, 243.
 beekn *bacon*, 204, 247.
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be-fue(r) before, 242, 400.
be-gan began, 57.
be-gin to begin, 89, 242, 315, 367.
be-gun begun, 111.
be-int behind, 305, 400.
bēk birch, 90, 259, 312.
be-kos because, 225, 401.
bēl to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or cloth, 228.
bēl āt to draw or pour out (drink to or for any one), 120.
be-lief belief, 179.
be-līv to believe, 150.
bēn to burn, 74, 261, 382.
bere borough, 113.
beri berry, 81, 245, 315.
beri to bury, 120, 245, 258, 315.
be-said besides, 400.
be-twīn between, 187, 400.
bēp birth, 120, 259.
bi by, 160, 400.
bī bee, 187.
bī to be, 187, 396.
bid to invite to a funeral, 89, 280, 300, 303.
bied beard, 68, 259.
biek beak, 231, 322.
biem beam, 178.
bien bean, 179.
bie(r) to bear, 75, 260, 369.
bie(r) beer, 188.
bies, biest beast, cow, 231, 292, 338, 381.
biet to beat, 179, 381.
bīf beef, 232.
big big, large, 89, 315.
bi gou, bi goi a kind of oath.
bi gum a kind of oath.
bi-int, be-int behind, 89, 305.
bīld to build, 119, 254, 381.
bin within, 89, 268, 400.
bīn been, 187, 396.
bi nā by this time, 399.
bind to bind, 89, 367.
bin a bin, 89, 273.
bit a bit, 89, 289.
bite(r) bitter, 89.
bi tmegs a kind of oath.
bitn bitten, 89.
bitš bitch, 89, 312.
biu bough, 164, 315.

- biuti *beauty*, 237.
 bizi *busy*, 117.
 bīzm *besom*, 79, 310.
 biznes *business*, 89, 310.
 blak *black*, 57.
 blast *blast*, 135.
 bleb *blister*, 280.
 bled *bled*, 148.
 bleed *blade*, 70.
 bleem *blame*, 204.
 bleen *blain*, *boil*, 268.
 bleet *to bleat*, 133.
 bleetin *kriu* *noisy children*.
 bleez *blaze*, *to blaze*, 70, 310.
 bleg *blackberry*, 59, 314.
 bleitš *to bleach*, 138, 312.
 blemiš *blemish*, 327.
 blend *to blend*, 73.
 blenk *blank*, 197, 322.
 blenkkit *blanket*, 197, 245, 322.
 bles *to bless*, 148.
 bleše(r) *bladder*, 134, 243, 297.
 blīd *to bleed*, 147, 381.
 blier-īd *blear-eyed*, 300.
 blind *blind*, 89.
 blis *bliss*, 89.
 bliu *blew*, 190, 239.
 blium *bloom*, 164.
 bliuz (pl.) *delirium tremens*, 239.
 blob *a bubble*, *bulb*, 100, 254.
 bloe *to blow*, 123, 250, 377.
 blosm *blossom*, 169, 310.
 bluid *blood*, *to bleed*, 163, 381.
 bluid ali, see § 346 note.
 bluš *to blush*, 121.
 bluše(r) *to cry*, *weep*, 111, 280, 297.
 bodi *body*, 110, 245, 315.
 bodm *bottom*, 100, 247, 264, 286.
 boek *balk*, *beam*, 62, 312.
 boel *ball*, 198.
 boeld *bald*, 62, 254.
 boem *balm*, 198.
 boen *born*, 104, 259.
 boged *ghost*, 280.
 boil *bole of a tree*, 109.
 boil *to boil*, 216.
 boks *box*, 100.
 boni *nice*, *pretty*, 214, 245.
 bore *to borrow*, 100, 243, 315.
 botni *Botany wool*.
 bou *bow*, 315.
 boud *bold*, 64.
 boul *bowl*, 103, 220.
 bouste(r) *bolster*, 103.
 bout *bolt*, 103.
 bout *bought*, 101, 318.
 brā *brow*, 171.
 braid *bride*, 175.
 braidl *bridle*, 156.
 brain *brine*, 175.
 brak (pret.) *broke*, 57, 369.
 brakr *a kind of fern*, 57.
 brān *brown*, 171.
 bran niu *quite new*, 57, 301.
 branš *branch*, 195, 327.
 bras *brass*, 57.
 brast (pret.) *burst*, 57, 367.
 brat *pinafore*, 57.
 braznt *brazen*, *impudent*, 57.
 bred *bred*, 148.
 bree *to beat*, *pound*, 204.
 breed *to resemble*, *act like another person*, 84, 315.
 breeen *brain*, 65, 315.
 breg *to brag*, 59, 315.

- breiṣṣ *a breach*, 87, 312.
 brek *to break*, 88, 258, 312, 369.
 bren (pret.) *brought*, 59, 368.
 brest *breast*, 192.
 brīd *to breed*, 147, 381.
 bried *bread*, 179.
 bried-fleik *a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried*, 87, 312.
 briedþ *breadth*, 137.
 briep *breath*, 131.
 brieð *to breathe*, 131, 306.
 brig *bridge*, 117, 280, 315.
 brigz *a trivet*, 315, 338.
 brim *brim*, 117.
 brim *to put the boar to the sow*, 89, 263.
 brimstn *brimstone*, 117, 247.
 brin *to bring*, 89, 258, 273, 367, 368.
 brit *bright*, 93, 261, 318.
 britṣ *breech*, 312.
 britṣez *breeches*, 149.
 briu *to brew*, 190, 256, 382.
 briuk *brook*, 164, 312.
 brium *broom*, 164.
 broiṣṣ *to broach*, 219.
 brok *badger*.
 brokn *broken*, 100, 247, 271.
 broþ *broth*, 100, 338.
 brout *brought*, 167, 318.
 brued *broad*, 122.
 bruets *brooch*, 218.
 bruid *brood*, 163.
 bruslz *bristles*, 121, 287.
 bruns (pp.) *burst*, 287.
 brust *to burst*, 261, 367.
 bruðe(r) *brother*, 169.
 bued *board*, 104, 259.
 buekn *to belch, retch*, 105, 271.
 buen *bone*, 122.
 bue(r) *boar*, 122.
 buet *boat*, 122.
 buep *both*, 122.
 buin *boon*, 163.
 buit *to boot*, 163.
 buit *boot*, 221.
 buið *booth*, 163, 306.
 buizm *bosom*, 163, 247.
 buk *buck*, 111.
 būk *book*, 164.
 būk (būkp) *bulk, size*, 112, 256.
 bukit *bucket*, 226.
 bul *bull*, 111.
 buldž *to bulge*, 226.
 bulēk *bullock*, 111, 243.
 bulit *bullet*, 227, 245.
 bum-beeli *bailiff*, 204.
 bun (pp.) *bound*, 111, 280, 301.
 būn *above*, 283, 400.
 bunl *bundle*, 121.
 busk, *to go about from place to place singing and playing for money*, 174, 312.
 busl *to bustle*, 111, 287.
 bušl *bushel*, 227.
 bute(r) *butter*, 111, 243.
 butn *button*, 226.
 butše(r) *butcher*, 227.
 buzed *butterfly*, 226, 243, 291, 310.
 -d *had*, 395.
 -d *would*, 256, 397.
 dāe(r) *to dare*, 61, 390.
 daft *foolish, silly, cowardly*, 57.
 daik *dike, ditch*, 156, 312.
 daiv *to dive*, 175, 283, 295, 361.

dāk dark, 74.
dākr to enter.
dālin darling, 189, 259.
dam large pond of water, 57.
damidž damage, 194, 245,
 328.
dān to darn, 61.
dān down, 171, 400.
dān-reit downright.
dāst dust, 171.
dāt doubt, 235.
dee day, 65, 315.
deel dale, 70.
deendžə(r) danger, 204.
deenti dainty, 204.
deet to dart, 203.
deet date, 204.
deevi affidavit, 204, 246.
deezi daisy, 65.
deg to sprinkle with water,
 59, 315.
dein dean, 234.
delf a stone quarry, 73, 283.
delv to delve, 73, 283.
demek potato disease, 206,
 246.
*demekt diseased (of pota-
 toes)*, 206.
*den (pret.) reviled, re-
 proached*, 59, 367.
depp depth, 192.
det debt, 206.
deu dew, 180, 250, 295.
de do, 398.
dēsnt durst not, 287.
dēst durst, 113, 259, 390.
di do, 398.
dī to die, 79, 295.
dī to dye, 150, 315.
did did, 117.
didl to cheat, deceive, 117.
diēd dead, 179, 295.

dief deaf, 179.
diel deal, to deal, 137, 382.
diē(r) dear, 188.
diep death, 179, 306.
dif-rnt different, 247.
dig to dig, 89, 315, 373.
dim dim, 89.
dīm to deem, 147.
din din, 117.
dine(r) dinner, 211.
dir up to reproach, revile,
 76, 367, 368.
dip to dip, 117.
dīp deep, 187.
disiet deceit, 231, 234.
disiev to deceive, 231, 244.
distēb to disturb, 228.
diš dish, 89.
*dišə(r) to tremble, shiver
 with cold*, 89, 297.
diu to do, 164, 398.
diu due, 237.
dium doom, 164.
diuti duty, 237.
divāə(r) to devour, 236.
divl devil, 192.
dizaie(r) desire, 230.
dizi dizzy, 117, 245, 315.
dizml dismal, 211.
dlad glad, 57, 315.
dlaid to glide, 156, 361.
dlāmi sad, downcast, 171,
 315.
dlas glass, 57, 310, 315.
dlazn to glaze, 57, 310.
dlaznə(r) glazier, 57.
dlee(r) to stare hard, 70.
dlī glee, 187.
dliem gleam, 137.
dlite(r) to glitter, 89.
dlium gloom, 164, 315.
dlou to glow, 166, 250.

- dlue(r) to stare, 165, 260,
 315.
 dlueri glory, 224.
 dlumpi sulky, morose, 315.
 dlutn glutton, 226.
 dluv glove, 169.
 doeb to daub, smear, 225.
 Doed George, 329.
 doen dawn, to dawn, 63,
 315.
 doen down, feathers, 173.
 dof to undress, 100, 295.
 dog dog, 100, 315.
 doi joy, darling, a pet word
 applied to children, 329.
 doit to dote, 219.
 dokn a dock, 100, 247.
 dolep lump of dirt, 278.
 dolt lump of dirt, 100.
 don to dress, 100, 268, 295.
 dons dance, 200.
 doudi a scolding, irritable
 woman.
 doute(r) daughter, 101, 318.
 draft draught, draft, 57, 319.
 drai dry, 175, 315.
 draip to drip, 175, 278.
 draiv to drive, 156, 283, 361.
 drānd to drown, 115, 304.
 drāzi drowsy, 171.
 dreeg to drawl, 70, 315.
 dreek drake, 70, 312.
 dreet to drawl, 295.
 dreg to drag, 59, 315.
 dregn dragon, 197.
 dregz dregs, 73, 315.
 drenš to drench, 73, 277,
 312.
 drenk drank, 59.
 dri dreary, gloomy, tedious,
 150, 315.
 dried to dread, 131.
 driem dream, 179, 382.
 drieri dreary, 188.
 drift drift, 89.
 drink to drink, 89, 273, 312,
 367.
 driu drew, 164, 315.
 drivm driven, 89.
 droe to draw, 63, 315, 375.
 drop drop, 100.
 druen drone, 122.
 druev (noun) drove, 122.
 druft drought, 174, 315.
 drukn drunk, drunken, 111,
 247, 368.
 dub a small pool of water,
 111.
 dubl double, 226, 348.
 dudz clothes.
 due doe, 122.
 Dueđ Joe, 329.
 dueđ dough, 122, 315.
 duefi cowardly, 122, 315.
 duel dole, 122.
 due(r) door, 113.
 Duez, Duezi Joshua, 329.
 duin done, 163, 398.
 dul dull, 107.
 dum dumb, 111.
 dun to urge for payment,
 111.
 dun done, 398.
 dur dung, 111.
 duv dove, 174, 283.
 duz dost, does, 169, 310.
 duzn dozen, 226.
 dwāf dwarf, 74, 250, 315.
 dwinl to dwindle, 160, 250,
 266, 298.
 džais joist, 229, 292, 310,
 328.
 dželes jealous, 206, 243, 328.
 dželi jelly, 206, 328.

džen-rl *general*, 247.
 džēni *journey*, 228.
 džoam *the side post of a door*
 or chimney piece, 225, 328.
 džoenes *jaundice*, 225, 243,
 328.
 džogl *to shake*, 100.
 džoi *joy*, 216.
 džoint *joint*, 216, 328.
 dšok *food*.
 džoli *jolly*, 214.
 džosl *to jostle*, 214.
 džoul *to knock, strike*, 254,
 328.
 džudž *judge*, 226.
 džust *just*, 226.

 e *have*, 283, 395.
 eb *ebb*, 73.
 ed *had*, 60, 395.
 edikéet *to educate*, 242.
 edž *edge*, 73.
 edž *hedge*, 73.
 ee *hay*, 153.
 eəbl *able*, 204.
 eedž *age*, 204, 328.
 eeg *the berry of the hawthorn*,
 70, 315.
 eegifái *to argue, dispute*, 326.
 eəke(r) *acre*, 70, 337.
 eel *ale*, 70.
 eel *hail*, 65, 315.
 eem *to aim, intend*, 204.
 eənšn *ancient*, 204, 247, 269,
 293, 327.
 eə(r) *hair*, 133.
 eə(r) *hare*, 70.
 eet *art, skill*, 203.
 eet *to hate*, 70.
 efe(r) *heifer*, 186, 318.
 eft *haft*, 73, 283, 317.
 eg *to urge on, incite*, 73, 315.

eg *egg*, 73, 315.
 egrivéet *to aggravate*, 326.
 ei *high*, 182, 318.
 eit *to eat*, 87, 372.
 eit *eight*, 67, 318, 344.
 eit' *eighth*, 67, 344.
 eit *height*, 153, 318.
 eiti *eighty*, 344.
 eitīn *eighteen*, 344.
 eitīnt *eighteenth*, 344.
 eitit *eightieth*, 344.
 el *hell*, 73.
 elde(r)-trī *elder*, 73.
 elm *elm*, 73.
 elp *to help*, 73, 278, 383.
 els *else*, 73, 357.
 elte(r) *halter*, 60, 283.
 em *hem*, 73.
 emti *empty*, 143, 245, 279.
 en *hen*, 73.
 end *end*, 73.
 en (w. verb) *to hang*, 59, 382.
 en (pret.) *hung*, 59, 367.
 enk *hank*, 59, 312.
 enke(r) *anchor*, 59.
 enkl *angle*, 59.
 enment (lit. *hangment*), used
 in the phrase: *wot ðe en-*
 ment? what the duce? See
 page 112.
 asked *newt, eft*, 60, 312.
 esp *hasp*, 73.
 espin *aspin*, 60.
 eš *ash-tree*, 59, 312.
 etn *eaten*, 73.
 etš *to hatch*, 60, 312.
 eu *ewe*, 85, 250.
 eu *to hew*, 180, 250, 382.
 eu *yew*, 190, 250.
 ev *have*, 60, 283, 395.
 evi *heavy*, 73, 245, 315.
 evm *even*, 270.

evm *heaven*, 73, 247, 283.
ez *hast, has*, 60, 283.

e *a, an*, 128, 340.

e *on*, 272, 400.

e *of*, 283, 400.

e *he*, 350.

e *have*, 283, 395.

e-bāt *about, without*, 171,
 242, 400.

e-blīdž *to oblige*, 229.

e-būn *above*, 112, 242, 283,
 400.

ed *had*, 395.

ed *would*, 397.

ēd *herd*, 90.

ēdl *hurdle*, 120.

ed-vais *advice*, 229.

ed-vaiz *to advise*, 229.

e-flēd *afraid* 131, 242.

e-fuēd *to afford*, 104, 242,
 306.

e-fue(r) *before*, 104, 242, 400.

e-geet *in action, at work*,
 70, 242.

e-gien *again, against*, 179,
 242, 400.

e-grī *to agree*, 232, 242.

e-gue *ago*, 122, 242.

e-kānt *account*, 235.

e-kin *akin*, 117, 242, 312.

e-kos *because*, 225, 242.

e-kuēdinlāi *accordingly*, 242,
 399.

el *will*, 397.

e-lā *to allow*, 235.

e-laiv *alive*, 156, 242.

e-lep *e* *along of, on account*
of, 400.

(*e*)*levm* *eleven*, 81, 344.

(*e*)*levnt* *eleventh*, 344.

e-luēn *alone*, 122, 242.

em = *m* *them*, 264, 350.

e-mānt *amount*, 235.

e-mer *among*, 59, 242, 400.

en *an*, 128.

en *one*, 345.

en *and*, 301, 401.

e-nent *anent, opposite*, 73,
 242, 283, 400.

e-noi *to annoy*, 216, 242.

e-plai *to apply*, 229, 242.

e(r) *or*, 128, 401.

ē(r) *her*, 91, 350, 351.

eri *row, disturbance, noise*,
 113, 245.

e-said *besides*, 400.

e-semł *to assemble*, 206, 242,
 282.

e-sen, -sel, -seln *herself*, 353.

e-stiēd *instead*, 82, 242, 267,
 400.

et (rel. pr. and conj.) *that*,
 356, 401.

ēt *to hurt*, 228, 381.

e *top e* (lit. *on top of*) *upon*.

ev *have*, 283, 395.

ev *of*, 400.

e-weē *away*, 84, 242.

ez *us*, 310, 350.

ez *as*, 310.

ēz *hers*, 352.

fādin *farthing*, 189, 245, 276,
 306.

fadm *fathom*, 57, 247, 306.

fāe(r) *far*, 74.

faiē(r) *fire*, 176.

fail *file*, 156.

fain *fine*, 229.

faiv *five*, 156, 283, 344.

Faklē *Thackley*, 306.

fakt (pl. *faks*) *fact*, 194, 322.

fāl *foul, ugly*, 171.

fāl fowl, 114, 315.
 fale fallow, 57, 243.
 fan fan, 57.
 fan (pret.) found, 57, 301.
 fan fern, 61.
 fasn to fasten, conclude a bargain by paying earnest money, 57, 247, 287, 310.
 fat fat, 144, 289.
 fāt pedere, 74.
 faðe(r) father, 71, 243, 283, 297.
 fed fed, 148.
 feed to fade, 204.
 feek trick, deception, 127.
 feel to fail, 204.
 feen fain, glad, 65, 315.
 feent to faint, 204.
 fee(r) fair, 65, 315.
 fee(r) to fare, 70.
 fees face, 204.
 feep faith, 204.
 feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, 204.
 feeve(r) fever, 84.
 feit to fight, 86, 289, 318, 367.
 fel to fell, 73.
 fel (pret.) fell, 192.
 felt (noun) felt, 73.
 felt (pret.) felt, 148.
 felte(r) to entangle.
 fend to provide for oneself, 206.
 fent remnant of a piece of cloth, 206.
 fešn fashion, 197, 247, 269, 327.
 fest fast, firm, 60.
 feðe(r) feather, 73, 306.
 feu few, 180, 250, 283, 357.

fezn pheasant, 206, 269, 293, 310.
 fēd third, 306.
 fe-getn (pp.) forgot, 242.
 fēniš to furnish, 228.
 fēnite(r) furniture, 228, 243 288.
 fe(r) for, 400.
 fere furrow, 113, 243, 258, 318.
 feri first, 346.
 ferin foreign, 224, 245.
 ferinez foreigners.
 fe-sak to forsake, 376.
 fe-seen forsaken, 312.
 fēst first, 120, 309, 344.
 fid to feed, 147, 381.
 fidl fiddle, 89, 296.
 fiebl feeble, 231.
 fie(r) fear, 131.
 fies fierce, 233.
 fiest feast, 231.
 fiet feat, 231.
 fiæte(r) feature, 231, 288.
 fift fifth, 160, 289, 309, 344.
 fifti fifty, 160, 344.
 fiftin fifteen, 344.
 fiftint fifteenth, 344.
 fiftit fiftieth, 344.
 fig-wet figwort, 120, 243.
 fikl fickle, 89, 312.
 fl to fill, 117.
 fil to feel, 147, 382.
 fild field, 78, 254.
 flep to beat, flog, 278.
 film film, 89, 264.
 filp filth, 177.
 fin fin, 89.
 find to find, 89, 300, 367, 368.
 fiñd fiend, 187.
 finiš to finish, 211, 327.

finē(r) *finger*, 89, 273.
fl̥k *to think*, 306.
fl̥pms *fivepence*, 160, 247, 270.
fl̥š *fish*, 89, 312, 337.
fl̥t *ready, prepared*, 89.
fl̥t *feet*, 147.
fl̥tē(r) *to kick the feet about*.
fl̥uīl *fuel*, 237.
fl̥utē(r) *future*, 237, 243, 253, 288.
fl̥āē(r) *flower, flour*, 236.
fl̥aks *flax*, 57.
fl̥ānde(r) *a small flat fish*.
fl̥ask *flask*, 57.
fl̥at *flat*, 57.
fl̥ēē *to frighten*, 283.
fl̥ēē *to skin*, 183.
fl̥ēēk *flake*, 70, 312.
fl̥ēm *flame*, 204.
fl̥ēē *up to get into a rage*.
fl̥ēg *flag*, 59.
fl̥ēē (pret.) *threw*, 59, 367.
fl̥ēš *flesh*, 143, 312.
fl̥ī *to fly*, 187, 315.
fl̥ī *fly*, 187, 315.
fl̥ēm *phlegm*, 206.
fl̥ē(r) *to laugh or sneer at*, 98.
fl̥ig *to fledge*, 117, 315.
fl̥ik *flitch of bacon*, 89, 254, 312.
fl̥ikē(r) *to flicker*, 89, 312.
fl̥int *flint*, 89.
fl̥ir *to fling, throw*, 76, 367, 368.
fl̥īs *fleece*, 187.
fl̥it *to remove*, 117.
fl̥īt *flight*, 118, 318.
fl̥iu *flue*, 239.
fl̥og *to flog*, 315.
fl̥ok *flock*, 100, 312.

fl̥op *to fall suddenly; flop one tied to pull the bed-clothes over one's head*.
fl̥ou *to flow*, 166, 250.
fl̥oun *flown*, 102, 315.
fl̥uē(r) *floor*, 165.
fl̥uēt *to float*, 105.
fl̥uid *flood*, 163.
fl̥umēks *to confound, cheat*, 283.
fl̥utē(r) *to flutter*, 107.
fl̥ōēfl̥t *to forfeit*, 223.
fl̥ōēk *fork*, 104, 312.
fl̥ōēl *to fall*, 62, 254, 379.
fl̥ōēl *a veil*, 62.
fl̥ōēm *form*, 223.
fl̥ōē-nuin *drinkin luncheon*.
fl̥ōētn *fortune*, 223, 247, 288.
fl̥og *aftergrass*, 100, 315.
fl̥oil *foal*, 109, 283.
fl̥oisti *fusty*, 226.
fl̥oks *fox*, 100.
fl̥oks-dl̥uv *foxglove*, 107.
fl̥ōē *to follow*, 100, 243, 315.
fl̥ols *false; in reference to a child implying that it is shrewd and witty beyond its years*, 58, 225.
fl̥ond *fond*, 100.
fl̥o(r) *for*, 400.
fl̥ōēd *forward*, 243, 251.
fl̥ōēdiš *rather forward*, 243.
fl̥ōstē(r) *foster*, 169.
fl̥oti *forty*, 192, 344.
fl̥otit *fortieth*, 344.
fl̥otn (pp.) *fought*, 100, 101, 247.
fl̥otnit *fortnight*, 93, 192, 245.
fl̥otš *to fetch*, 80, 312.
fl̥ōē(r) *fodder*, 169, 297.
fl̥oud *fold*, 64, 238.
fl̥ōē(r) *four*, 190, 344.

fouet *fourth*, 190, 309, 344.
 fouetin *fourteen*, 190, 344.
 fouetint *fourteenth*, 344.
 fouk *folk*, 103, 283.
 fout *fault*, 199, 256, 283.
 frai *to fry*, 229.
 fraide *Friday*, 156.
 frān *to frown*, 235.
 frats̃ *to quarrel*.
 fre *from*, 400.
 freem *to make a start or be-*
 ginning, 70, 283.
 frend *friend*, 192.
 frenz *friends*, 302.
 fres̃ *fresh*, 73, 312.
 fre *from*, 400.
 frĩ *free*, 187.
 friet *to fret, mourn over*, 82,
 381.
 frig *coire*, 315.
 frit̃ *fright*, 118, 261, 318.
 friut *fruit*, 239.
 frīz *to freeze*, 187, 365, 366.
 froed *fraud*, 225.
 frog *frog*, 100, 315.
 frost *frost*, 100.
 froþ *froth, to foam*, 100, 306.
 frozen *frozen*, 100, 247, 269,
 310.
 frunt *front*, 226.
 fudl *to confuse*, 283.
 fuedž̃ *to forge*, 223, 328.
 fuem *foam*, 122.
 fuə(r) *before*, 400.
 fuēs *force*, 223.
 fuid *food*, 163.
 fuil *fool*, 221.
 fuit (pl. fīt) *foot*, 163, 336,
 337.
 ful *full*, 111.
 fullə(r) *fuller*, 111.
 fuml *to fumble*, 282.

fun (pp.) *found*, 111, 301.
 fus *fuss*, 174.
 fuzi *soft, spongy*, 283, 310.
 ga *gave*, 283.
 gab *impudence*, 57, 280, 315.
 gad *to gossip*, 57.
 gāl *the matter which gathers*
 in the corner of the eye, 326.
 galek *lefthand*, 194, 248, 326.
 galep *to gallop*, 194, 243.
 gales *gallows*, 57, 315.
 galesez *braces*, 254, 328.
 galn *gallon*, 194, 337.
 gam *game, to gamble*, 57, 263.
 gami *lame*, 263.
 gān *gown*, 235.
 gane(r) *gander*, 57, 243, 298,
 315.
 garit *garret*, 194, 326.
 gat (pret.) *got*, 57.
 gāt *gout*, 235.
 gavlek *crowbar*, 71, 315.
 gee *gay*, 204.
 geed *guard*, 203.
 geedn *garden*, 203.
 geen *gain*, 315.
 geen *near, direct*, 84, 315.
 geep *to gape*, 70, 315.
 geet *gate*, 70, 315.
 geetə(r) *garter*, 203, 326.
 geg *to gag*, 59, 315.
 gen *gang*, 59.
 gen-wee *thoroughfare, pas-*
 sage, 59.
 ges *to guess*, 206.
 gest *guest*, 315.
 get *to get*, 88, 315, 372.
 getn (pp.) *got*, 73, 286.
 geðə(r) *to gather*, 60, 243, 297.
 gezlin *gosling*, 148, 245, 276.
 gād *fit, bout*.

gēdl girdle, 120.
gēn to grin, 74, 261.
gēs grass, 69, 261.
gēsl gristle, 90, 261, 286, 315.
gēt great, 185, 261, 289.
gēts lit. greats, 177.
gēþ girth, 306.
gi give, 283.
gidi giddy, 89.
giēn against, 400.
gie(r) gear, 68.
gift gift, 89, 283.
gild to gild, 119.
gilt a young female pig, 89, 315.
gimlit gimlet, 211, 243.
gīn given, 79, 283.
ginl a long narrow uncovered passage, 247.
gīs geese, 147, 310.
gium gum, 164.
giv, gi to give, 77, 315, 372.
gizn to choke, 211, 326.
gizn gizzard, 211.
God God, 100.
goeki left-handed, 198.
goel gall, 62.
goem heed, care, attention, 184.
goemles silly, stupid, 184.
goit channel, mill-stream, 109, 289, 315.
gol goal, 217, 326.
gosep gossip, 91.
gospl gospel, 100.
goud gold, 103, 315.
graim soot (on the kettle), 156.
graip to gripe, 156.
gran-faðe(r), gram-faðe(r) grandfather, 194, 299.
grant to grant, 195, 326.
gree gray, 133, 315.

greenz (pl.) malt which has been used in brewing beer, 204, 338.
grees grace, 204.
greot grate, 204.
greov grave, 70, 283.
greez to graze, 70, 310.
grīdi greedy, 130.
gries grease, 231.
grīf grief, 232.
grīn green, 147, 315.
grind to grind, 89.
grip grip, 89.
grīt to greet, 147.
griu grew, 190.
griuil gruel, 239.
grou to grow, 166, 250, 378.
gruēn to groan, 122.
gruēp to grope, 122.
gruēv grove, 122.
gruin snout of a pig, 221, 268.
gruml to grumble, 226, 247.
grund to grind, 381.
grund ground, 111, 300, 315.
grun-sil groundsel, 89, 111, 251, 299.
grunt to grunt, grumble, find fault, 111.
grunz (pl.) sediment, 111, 302, 338.
guē to go, 122, 382.
guēd goad, 122.
guēn gone, 122.
guē(r) gore, 122.
guēst ghost, 122.
guet goat, 122, 315.
guid good, 163, 315, 343.
guis (pl. gīs) goose, 163, 336.
gulit gullet, channel for water, 226, 245.
gust gust, 111.
gute(r) gutter, 226.

guts entrails, belly, 111.
guzl to swallow greedily, 226.

i I, 350.

i in, 89, 272, 400.

ī he, 155, 350.

ī (pl. in) eye, 181, 315, 334.

id to hide, 177.

id I would, 250.

id heed, 147.

idn (pp.) hid, 177.

ī-end corner of the eye.

iøb herb, 207.

iød head, 179, 283.

iød heard, 151.

iøge(r) eager, 231.

iøgl eagle, 231.

iøkwl equal, 231.

iel to heal, 137.

iel eel, 131.

iølp health, 137, 306.

ienis, ienist earnest, 74, 245.

iøp heap, 179.

iø(r) ear, 179.

iø(r) to hear, 151, 382.

iø(r) here, 154, 354, 399.

iørin herring, 68.

iørnd errand, 131.

iøst east, 179.

iøste(r) Easter, 179.

iøt heat, 137.

iøp earth, 74.

iødñ heathen, 137.

iø-wig earwig, 315.

iøz ease, 231.

*iøzinz the eaves of a building,
276.*

if if, 89, 401.

ig mood, temper, 117, 315.

*igoi, an exclamation of sur-
prise or wonder.*

ik to hitch, 89, 312.

il hill, 117.

il ill, 89, 343.

il heel, 147.

ilt hilt, 89.

im him, 89, 350.

*imin evening, 130, 270, 276,
283.*

in in, 89, 400.

inā presently, 399.

*inø(r) (occ. inøe(r)) to hin-
der, 89, 296.*

indžn engine, 209, 247, 328.

indžoi to enjoy, 209, 244, 328.

*inif (sing.), enough, 164, 245,
315, 357.*

*iniu (pl.) enough; 164, 245,
315, 357.*

inš inch, 117, 337.

intø, intøv, intul into, 400.

inž hinge, 76, 315.

in to hang, 76, 273, 367, 368.

*ingeedž to engage, 204, 209,
244.*

ink ink, 209, 322.

ink think, 306.

inliš English, 76, 273.

inolnd England, 76, 247.

ip hip, 117.

*ipin a cloth placed round
the hips of children, 117,
245.*

is his, 351.

*i(s)sen, i(s)sel, i(s)seln him-
self, 353.*

it to hit, 89, 373.

it it, 89, 289, 350.

it its, 351.

i tgeet in the way.

its its, 352.

itsen, itsel, itseln itself, 353.

iøe(r) hither, 89, 297, 399.

iuk hook, 164, 312.

- iuneti* unity, 237, 253.
iunion union, 237.
ius use, 237, 253.
iusfl useful, 237.
iusles useless, 237.
iuz to use, 237, 310.
ive(r) ever, 145, 283, 399.
ivri every, 145, 357.
iz his, 89, 351, 352.
iz is, 89, 310.
iz he has, he is, 310.

jād yard, 61, 315.
jāe(r) your, 190, 350.
jān yarn, 61, 315.
jare yarrow, 57, 243, 250.
jāz, yours, 352.
jel yell, 73, 315.
jelp yelp, 73, 315.
jē ye, you, 252, 350.
jē(r) your, 351.
jēs yes, 91, 399.
jesen, *jesel*, *jeseln* your-
 self, yourselves, 353.
jesenz yourselves, 353.
jēst yeast, 81, 315.
jēstede yesterday, 81, 243,
 315, 399.
jēstēnīt last night, 399.
jēt yet, 81, 399.
jī ye, you, 155, 252, 350.
jied (3 feet) yard, 74, 337.
jien to yearn, 74.
jie(r) year, 131, 252, 337.
jild to yield, 78, 315.
jiup youth, 190.
joen to yawn, 80, 315.
jole yellow, 80, 243, 254, 315.
jon, *jond* yon, 80, 252, 354.
jondeli vacant, beside one-
 self.
jonde(r) yonder, 399.

juek yolk, 83, 105, 252, 315.
jun young, 111, 252.

kā cow, 171, 312.
kāe(r) *dān* to bend down,
 sit down, 172.
kaf chaff, 57, 283, 312.
kaind kind, 312.
kait kite, 175, 312.
kākume(r) cucumber, 237,
 263, 282.
kal to gossip, 57, 312.
kāl cowl, to frown, 114,
 254, 315.
kan can, 57.
kan (verb) can, 57, 389.
kani knowing, skilful, nim-
 ble, 57, 245.
kanl candle, 57, 247, 266,
 298, 312.
kānsl to counsel, 235.
kānt to count, 235.
kap cap, 57, 194.
kap to surprise.
kapil a piece of leather sewn
 over a hole in a boot or
 shoe, 194.
karit carrot, 194, 245.
kasl castle, 57, 286.
kā-slip cowslip, 117.
kat cat, 57.
kāt cart, 61, 312.
katš to catch, 383.
kātš couch, 235.
kāv to carve, 74, 283, 312.
keed card, 203, 322.
keedž cage, 204.
keek bread of any kind,
 70, 312.
keekes body, carcase, 203,
 322.
keē(r) care, 70, 312.

- kees case, 204, 322.
 kei key, 139, 312, 315.
 keišn (lit. occasion) need,
 necessity, 322.
 kek hemlock, 312.
 kemp short coarse white
 hairs in wool, 73, 312.
 kenke(r) to rust, corrode,
 59, 197, 243.
 kep to catch (a ball), 278,
 312.
 kept kept, 148.
 kest to cast, 60, 312, 381.
 ketl kettle, 73, 247, 312.
 ked could, 389.
 kē-geť kirkgate, 90, 312, 313.
 ken (verb) can, 389.
 kōn currant, 228, 259, 292.
 kōnl kernel, 120, 312.
 kēs to curse, 113, 310, 312.
 kēsmeš Christmas, 161, 243,
 261, 312.
 kēsñ to christen, 161, 261,
 310.
 kid kid, 89.
 kil to kill, 77, 250, 312.
 kil to cool, 147, 312.
 kiln kiln, 117, 312.
 kīn keen, 147, 312.
 kindm kingdom, 264, 273
 note, 312.
 kinl to bring forth (of rab-
 bits), 117.
 kinlin firewood, 117, 298.
 kin king, 117.
 kink to cough (of whoop-
 ing cough), 89.
 kin-kof whooping cough, 89,
 312, 313.
 kīp to keep, 147, 312.
 kist chest, box, 89, 310.
 kit a pail, 89, 312.
 kitl to tickle, 89, 257, 312.
 kitl to bring forth kittens,
 312.
 kitlin kitten.
 kitsn kitchen, 117, 312.
 kiue(r) cure, 238.
 kn weak form of kan can,
 271, 359.
 kob-web cob, 100.
 kod cod, 100.
 koef calf, 62, 312.
 koef calf (of the leg), 62.
 koel to call, 62, 312.
 koen corn, 104, 312.
 koene(r) corner, 223.
 koese causeway, 225, 243,
 322.
 kof cough, 100, 319.
 koil coal, 109, 254.
 koiles coalhouse, 243.
 koit quoit, coit, 216.
 koit coat, 219, 312.
 kok cock, 100, 312.
 kokl cockle, 100, 312.
 kolep slice of bacon, 100,
 243.
 kole(r) collar, 214.
 kom came, 169.
 konsān concern, 207.
 konséet conceit, 234.
 konsiđe(r) to consider, 211,
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 kontraiv to contrive, 229,
 361, 364.
 kontréeri contrary, 204
 note, 322.
 kope(r) copper, 100.
 kos because, 225, 242, 246,
 401.
 kost to cost, 381.
 kot staples of wool tightly
 entangled together, 289.

- kotn cotton, 214.
 koud cold, 64, 312.
 kouk coke, cinder, 103, 312.
 koul to rake, 220, 322.
 kout colt, 103, 312.
 krab crab, 57.
 krabd angry, 57.
 krabi ill-tempered, 57.
 krād crowd, 171.
 kraft craft, 57.
 krai cry, 229.
 Kraist Christ, 156.
 krak to crack, 57.
 krait cricket (game), 213.
 kram to cram, press close together, 57.
 = kramp cramp, 57.
 krān crown, crown of the head, 235.
 kraps the renderings of lard, 278, 312.
 kredl cradle, 60, 247.
 kreev to crave, 70, 312.
 krenk crank, 59.
 kres cress, 73.
 kriete(r) creature, 288.
 krinž to cringe, 76, 312, 315.
 krīp to creep, 187, 383.
 kripl cripple, 117.
 krisp crisp, 89.
 kriu crew, 190.
 kriuk crook, 164, 312.
 kroē to crow, 123, 377.
 kroē crow, 123, 312.
 kroel to crawl, 63, 283.
 kroft a small field, 100.
 krop crop, 100.
 kros across, 246.
 kros cross, 100.
 krudl to curdle, 111.
 krudz curds, 111, 338.
 kruēk to croak, 122.
 kruidl to shrink or cover with cold, fear, or pain, 163.
 krum crumb, 111, 263.
 krumpl to crumple, 111.
 krust crust, 226.
 kruš to crush, 226.
 krutš crutch, 121, 312.
 kubed cupboard, 243, 279, 280, 312.
 kud cud, 97, 250, 312.
 kud could, 174, 389.
 kudl to embrace, 111, 247.
 kuēd cord, 223.
 kuēdiroi corduroy.
 kuēm comb, 66, 281, 312.
 kuētš coach, 218.
 kuēv cove, 103, 283.
 kuf (kuft) cuff, 111, 283.
 kuil cool, 163.
 kūk cook, 164, 312.
 kule(r) colour, 226.
 kum to come, 111, 312, 370.
 kumfet comfort, 226.
 kumpni company, 226, 247.
 kunin cunning, 111, 245.
 kuntri country, 226.
 kup cup, 111.
 kupl couple, 226.
 kus kiss, to kiss, 107, 310, 383.
 kusted custard, 226, 243.
 kustm custom, 226, 247.
 kut to cut, 381.
 kuve(r) to cover, 226.
 kuzin, kuzn cousin, 226.
 kwaiet quiet, 230, 322.
 kwaleti quality, 202, 250, 322.
 kwari stone-quarry, 202, 250, 322.

kweet *quart*, 203, 250, 259,
322, 337.

kweete(r) *quarter*, 203, 347.

kwīn *queen*, 147.

-l *will*, 397.

lā *to allow*, 235.

lad *lad*, 57.

lād *loud*, 171.

laf *to laugh*, 57, 319.

laſte(r) *laughter*, 57, 319.

laif *life*, 156.

laik *like*, 156.

laim *lime*, 156.

lain *line*, 156.

lais *lice*, 175.

lam *lamb*, 57, 66, 281.

lamp *lamp*, 194.

land *land*, 57.

lanloed *landlord*, 299.

lāns *an allowance of re-
freshment or money*, 235,
246.

lap *lap, lappet*, 57.

lap *to wrap up*, 57, 254.

laps *a kind of woollen waste
made in spinning*, 338.

lari *last*, 346.

las *lass, girl*, 57.

lās (pl. *lais*) *louse*, 171, 310,
336.

last *last, latest*, 57, 343.

lat *late*, 57, 254, 289, 343.

lat *lath*, 57, 289.

late(r) *latter, later*, 57, 343.

latist *latest*, 343.

latš *latch*, 312.

lače(r) *ladder*, 144, 297.

lače(r) *lather, foam, froth*,
71, 186, 306.

lavrek *lark*, 125, 243, 312.

lee *to lay*, 84, 315, 382.

leed *laid*, 84, 315.

leedi *lady*, 141, 245, 283.

leedl *ladle*, 70.

leek *to play*, 127, 312.

leelek *lilac*, 229, 243, 322.

leem *lame*, 70.

leen *lain*, 84, 315.

leerem *alarum*, 195.

lees *lace*, 204.

leēð *barn*, 70, 306.

leev *barn*, 306.

leſt (pret. and pp.) *left*, 143.

leg *leg*, 73, 315.

lein *to lean*, 139, 382.

leitš *leech*, 132, 312.

lek *to leak*, 88, 312.

lek *leek*, 186.

len *to lend*, 143, 268, 303,
382.

lenit *linnet*, 99, 212, 245.

lent, lend (pret. and pp.)
lent, 143.

lenp *length*, 73, 275.

len (lon) *long*, 59.

len *to long for*, 59.

lenki *tall and thin*.

len-setl *a long bench with
a high back*, 59.

lenwidž *language*, 197, 328.

les *less*, 143, 343.

leš *to comb the hair of the
head*, 59.

let *to let*, 134, 381.

let (pret.) *let*, 154.

lete(r) *letter*, 206.

letis *lettuce*, 206, 245.

leče(r) *leather*, 73, 306.

levm *eleven*, 246.

li *to tell a lie*, 187, 315.

lid *lid*, 89.

lied *lead*, 179.

lied *to lead*, 137, 381.

- liede(r) tendon*, 137.
lief leaf, 179.
lien lean, 137.
lien to learn, 74, 382.
liest least, 137, 343.
liev to leave, 137, 382.
lif soon, 187.
lift to lift, 117.
lig to lie down, 89, 254, 315, 382.
lik to lick, 89, 312.
lim limb, 89.
limit limit, 211.
linin linen, 160.
lints lentils, 209.
lin heather, 117, 273.
line(r) to linger, 76.
lip lip, 89.
lisn listen, 117, 287.
list list, 211.
list to enlist, 211, 246.
lit light, levis, 93.
lit light, to light, 187, 381.
litl little, 177, 343.
litnin lightning, 150.
lits lit. littles, 177.
lits the lungs of animals, 93, 318, 338.
liuk to look, 164, 312.
lium loom, 164, 254.
liv to live, 89, 283.
live(r) to deliver, 211, 246.
live(r) liver, 89, 283.
lodž to lodge, 214.
loe law, 63, 315.
loed lord, 283.
loft loft, 100.
loin lane, 69, 109, 254.
loin loin, 216.
loitš loach, 219.
loiz to lose, 109, 310, 382.
lok lock, 100, 312.
loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, 100, 338.
lon (len) long, 59.
lop flea, 100, 278.
loped clotted, covered with dirt, 100, 243.
lopste(r) lobster, 100, 278.
lost lost, 100.
lot lot, 100.
lotments allotments, 246.
lou low, 124, 315.
loup to leap, jump, 184, 317.
lous loose, 184.
lued load, 122.
luef loaf, 122, 317.
luen loan, 122.
luensm lonely, 122, 247.
luəp loath, 122.
luəð to loathe, 122.
lug to pull the hair of the head, 111, 315.
lun lung, 111.
luv love, 111.
m them, 350.
mad mad, 144.
madlin a bewildered or confused person, 144.
mai my, 156, 351.
maie(r) mire, 176.
maiklskoup microscope.
mail mile, 156, 337.
main mine, 156, 352.
mais mice, 175.
mait mite, 156.
mak to make, 71, 312, 383.
māk mark, 61, 312.
man (pl. men) man, 57, 336.
mane(r) manner, 194.
mānt to mount, 235.
map a mop, 194.

mare *marrow*, 57, 243, 315.
 mare *to match a pattern*,
 194, 243.
 mās (pl. *mais*) *mouse*, 171,
 310, 336.
 mat *mat*, 289.
 māt *to moult*, 235, 256.
 māp *mouth*, 171.
 mebi (lit. *may be*) *perhaps*,
 possibly, 65, 399.
 mede *meadow*, 134, 243.
 mee (verb) *may*, 65, 315, 393.
 meed (pret. and pp.) *made*,
 70, 312.
 meeg *maw*, 70, 315.
 meeleċ *trick, to play tricks*
 upon a person.
 meen *main*, 65, 315.
 meen *mane*, 70.
 mee(r) *mare*, 75.
 meesn *mason*, 204.
 meeste(r) *master*, 195.
 meet *mate*, 70.
 meil *meal, flour*, 87.
 meit *meat*, 87.
 meitš *to measure*, 312.
 mel *mallet*, 206.
 mel *to meddle*, 206.
 melt *to melt*, 73, 381.
 men *men*, 73.
 mend, *to mend*, 206.
 mens *neatness, tidiness*, 73,
 312.
 ment *meant*, 143.
 meš *mash*, 59, 125.
 mešt *smashed, broken in*
 pieces.
 met *met*, 148.
 meze(r) *measure*, 206, 243,
 310.
 mezlz *measles*, 234, 338.
 me (verb) *may*, 393.

me *me*, 350.
 med (verb) *might*, 393.
 mēki *mirky*, 120.
 men *man*, 249.
 men *must*, 392.
 meniue(r) *manure*, 238, 242.
 meraine *merino wool*.
 meri *merry*, 120, 245.
 mēðe(r) *to murder*, 120, 297.
 mi *my*, 351.
 mī *me*, 155, 350.
 midif *midwife*, 160, 251.
 midin *dunghill*, 276, 296.
 midl *middle*, 89, 296.
 midles *troublesome, tiresome*,
 impatient, to no purpose,
 154.
 miel *meal, repast*, 131.
 mien *mean*, 137.
 mien *to mean, intend*, 137,
 382.
 mig *midge*, 117, 315.
 miks *to mix*, 89, 312.
 mild *mild*, 92, 254.
 mil-deu *mildew*, 89.
 milk *milk*, 77.
 miln *mill*, 117, 269.
 ministe(r) *minister*, 211, 244.
 mins *mince*, 211.
 mint *mint*, 89.
 mirl *to mingle*, 76, 273.
 mis *miss*, 89.
 misen, misel, miseln, *myself*,
 353.
 mist *mist*, 89.
 mistl *cow-house*, 263, 287.
 mistšif *mischievous*, 211.
 mīt *to meet*, 147, 289, 381.
 mīt (noun) *might*, 93, 318.
 mitš *much*, 89, 312, 343.
 miul *mule*, 237.
 miuld *angry*.

- miuzik *music*, 237.
 mizl *to drizzle (of rain)*, 263, 310.
 mizl-tuē *mistletoe*, 89.
 moe *to mow*, 123, 377.
 moek *maggot*, 63, 306, 312.
 moen *morning*, 104.
 moende(r) *to wander about without any definite aim in view*.
 moendž *mange*, 196, 328.
 moendži *mangy, peevish*, 328.
 moenin *morning*, 104.
 moist *moist*, 216.
 moiste(r) *moisture*, 216, 243, 288.
 moit *mote*, 109.
 moiðe(r) *to ponder over, be anxious*, 297.
 molt *malt*, 58, 254.
 moni *many*, 58, 245, 315, 343, 357.
 mos *moss*, 100.
 mot, moti *a mark at quoits*, 214.
 mop *moth*, 100.
 moud *mould, model*, 220.
 moud-wāp *a mole*, 103.
 mud (verb) *might*, 393.
 mūd *crowded, crammed*, 263.
 muen *to moan*, 122.
 muen *to mourn*, 113.
 muent *must not*, 392.
 mue(r) *moor*, 165.
 mue(r) *more*, 122, 343.
 muēst *most*, 122, 343.
 mūfn *muffin*, 112.
 muid *mood*, 163.
 muild *confusion, bad temper*, 163.
 muild en teu *hard labour, continuous toil*.
 muin *moon*, 163, 263.
 muk *muck*, 121, 312.
 muml *to mumble*, 111, 263, 288.
 mun *must*, 111, 263, 392.
 munde *Monday*, 169.
 muni *money*, 226.
 muns *months*, 307, 310.
 munþ *month*, 169, 337.
 mune(r) *monger*, 59.
 muril *mongrel*, 226.
 musl *muscle*, 310.
 musl *mussel*, 111, 312.
 must *must*, 392.
 musted *mustard*, 226, 243.
 mutn *mutton*, 226, 247.
 muðe(r) *mother*, 169, 297.
 muzl *muzzle*, 226.
 nā *now*, 171, 399.
 naif *knife*, 156.
 nain *nine*, 344.
 naint *ninth*, 309, 344.
 nainti *ninety*, 344.
 naintin *nineteen*, 344.
 naintint *nineteenth*, 344.
 naintit *ninetieth*, 344.
 nais *nice*, 229.
 nap *nap*, 57.
 nare *narrow*, 57, 243.
 nat *gnat*, 57, 315.
 nate(r) *to gnaw, nibble*, 265.
 naterin *scolding, fault-finding in a small vexatious manner*.
 nati *neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people)*, 265, 286.
 nat-rl, nat-re-bl *natural*, 194, 247, 288.
 navi *canal*, 247, 265.
 neb *bill, beak*, 73, 280.
 nee *nay*, 84, 399.

neebe(r) *neighbour*, 183, 243, 318.

neeg to gnaw, 70, 315.

neegin, **nerin tēn** a bout which is a constant source of annoyance and complaint.

neekt naked, 70, 312.

neel nail, 65, 315.

neem name, 70.

neete(r) nature, 204, 243, 288.

nei to neigh, 139, 315.

nei nigh, near, 182, 318.

neid to knead, 87, 372.

neiv fist, 87, 283.

nek neck, 73, 312.

nek-lep neck cloth, handkerchief, 243, 312.

nekst next, 152, 320, 343.

nerp to gnaw as a pain, 59.

nerp-neel corn on the foot, 59.

nest nest, 73.

net net, 73, 289.

netl nettle, 73.

nevi nephew, 73, 245.

ne no, 357.

ne(r) nor, than, 128, 401.

nēs nurse, 228.

net not, 128, 357, 399.

nī knee, 187.

nibl to nibble, 89, 257.

nīd need, 150.

nīdīet idiot, 340.

nīdl needle, 130, 296.

niē(r) kidney, 151, 265.

niē(r) near 179, 343, 400.

niē(r), **nive(r)** never, 283.

niere(r) nearer, 343.

nierist nearest, 343.

nies niece, 231.

niet neat, tidy, 231.

nīl to kneel, 382.

nīmīl nimble, 89, 263, 282.

nīp to move quickly, slip away.

nīt to knit, 117, 373.

nīt nit, 89, 317.

nīt night, 93, 265, 318.

nītingeel nightingale, 70.

nīt-mee(r) nightmare, 70.

niū new, 190.

niū knew, 190.

niuk nook, 164, 312.

nive(r) never, 145, 283, 399.

nīz to sneeze, 187.

nōbed only, except, 286, 399, 400.

nōd nap, short sleep, 100.

nōē to know, 123, 250, 377.

nōep to beat, strike, 103, 278.

nōēp north, 104.

nōēðe(r) neither, 123, 357, 401.

noilz (pl.) the short hairs taken out of wool by the combing machine, 265, 338.

noiz noise, 216.

nok to knock, 100, 312.

noreišn row, disturbance, 340.

not knot, 100.

notš notch, a run at the game of cricket, 100, 312.

nou no, 399.

nout naught, 123, 318, 357.

nozl to beat, thrash, 254.

nub to nudge, 280.

nue no, 122, 357.

nuebdi nobody, 245, 247, 280, 357.

nuebl noble, 218.

nuen none, not, 122, 357.

nuen-keet silly foolish person.

nuetis notice, 218.

nuez nose, 105, 310.

nuin noon, 163, 268.

num numb, 111.

nume(r) number, 226, 282.

nut nut, 111, 317.

nuvis novice, 215.

nuvl novel, 215.

óbstakl obstacle, 214, 243.

od odd, 100.

od to hold, 64, 300, 381.

od, rot it a passionate rebuke or remonstrance.

oef half, 283.

oek hawk, 63, 283.

oeked awkward, 243, 251.

oekedli awkwardly, 399.

oel all, 62, 357.

oel hall, 62.

oemend almond, 198, 255.

óeminak almanac, 198, 243, 255.

oen horn, 104.

oen own, 124, 315.

oepep halfpennyworth, 62, 243, 247, 251, 272.

oepni halfpenny, 62, 245, 283.

oes horse, 104, 261, 310.

oeðe(r) either, 123, 243, 357, 401.

oeðe(r) order, 223, 258, 297.

ofi offal, 100.

ofld disreputable.

oft oft, often, 100, 399.

og the first year's wool of a sheep, 100, 315.

oil hole, 109, 317.

oil oil, 216.

ointment ointment, 216.

oiste(r) oyster, 216.

oke-daik small stream of iron-water, 214.

oks (pl. oksn) ox, 100, 320, 334.

ole hollow, 100, 243, 318.

olæs always, 58, 243, 251, 399.

olin the holly-tree, twig of the holly-tree, 100, 245, 268.

olt halt, 58.

omes, omæst almost, 58, 243, 255, 292, 399.

on on, of, 100, 249 note, 400.

one(r) honour, 214.

oni any, 146, 245, 315, 357.

onibodi anybody, 357.

oniwie(r) anywhere, 399.

ont aunt, 200.

öp to hop, 100.

opm open, 100, 270.

o(r) or, 401.

ote(r) otter, 100.

otšed orchard, 100, 243.

ou to owe, 124, 315.

oud to hold, 64.

oud old, 64, 300.

oue-kesn overcast, gloomy (of the sky), 287.

oue(r), ove(r) over, 283, 400.

oue(r)-welt to upset, 73.

out ought, 124, 318, 394.

out holt, 103, 289.

ovl hovel, 100.

pāe(r) power, 236.

pai pie, 229.

paik pike, 156.

paik to pick, choose, select, 229, 322.

pail pile, 156.

pain to pine, 156.
 paint pint, 229.
 paip pipe, 156.
 pak pack, bundle, 57, 312.
 pāk a kind of blain, 278.
 pāk park, 61.
 pan pan, 57.
 pantri pantry, 194.
 pās̃n parson, 207.
 pastē(r) pasture, 195, 228, 243.
 pasti pasty, 204.
 paṣ path, 57, 306.
 pāḍē(r) powder, 235, 297.
 pee pay, 204.
 peedn pardon, 203.
 peedž page, 204.
 peel pail, 65, 315.
 peel pale, 204.
 peen pain, 204.
 peen pane of glass, 204.
 peent paint, 204.
 pee(r) pair, 205.
 pee(r) to peel, 205.
 pees pace, 204.
 peesl parcel, 203.
 peest paste, 204.
 peestē(r) (lit. pasture) to feed.
 peet part, 203.
 peetne(r) partner, 203.
 pegi-stik the handle of a pegi (an instrument used in washing clothes, having a long handle inserted at right angles to the plane of a wooden disc, in which are set several pegs).
 pei pea, 87, 278, 311.
 peil up en dān to go about, hurry up and down.
 pen pen, 73.

penēṣ pennyworth, 243, 247, 251.
 peni penny, 73, 245.
 peš to knock about, smash, dash, 59, 312.
 pešn passion, 197, 327.
 pēs purse, 228.
 pidžn pigeon, 211, 247, 328.
 piek perch, to perch, 278.
 pie-kok peacock, 179.
 piel to appeal, 231, 246.
 pie(r) pear, 75, 208, 260.
 pies peace, 231.
 pig pig, 89, 315.
 pigin a small water-can, 89.
 pig-koit pig-sty, 109.
 pik pickaxe, 211.
 pikte(r) picture, 243, 288.
 pil to peel, 234.
 pile pillow, 117, 243.
 pilinz the peels of potatoes, etc., 234.
 pim-ruez primrose, 262, 278.
 pinien opinion, 211, 246.
 pīp (pret. and pp. pept) to peep, 232, 383.
 pīs piece, 232.
 pit pit, 117.
 piti pity, 211.
 pitš pitch, 89, 312.
 piṣ pith, 89.
 piu pew, 237.
 piue(r) pure, 238.
 pius puce colour, 237.
 plant plant, 195.
 plat floor, ground.
 pleen plain, 204.
 plees place, 204.
 pleestē(r) plaster, 195, 243.
 pleet plate, 204.
 plenk plank, 197.
 pleš to splash, 59.

pleze(r) *pleasure*, 206, 243,
 310.
 plied to *plead*, 231.
 pliez to *please*, 231.
 plit *plight*, 93, 318.
 pliu *plough*, 164, 315.
 plot *plot*, 100.
 pluk *pluck*, to *pluck*, 111,
 312.
 plum *plum*, 174.
 plume(r) *plumber*, 226.
 pobz (pl.) *porridge*; *sops*
 made of bread and milk.
 poe *paw*, 225.
 poem *palm*, 62, 278.
 poez to *kick*, 225, 278.
 point *point*, 216.
 poizn *poison*, 216.
 poks *pox*, 100.
 popi *poppy*, 110, 245.
 poreets *potatoes*, 286.
 poridž *porridge*, 214, 338.
 posnit *saucepan*, 214, 245.
 pot *pot*, 214.
 pot donek, see § 346 note.
 poul *pole*, 129.
 poutri *poultry*, 220, 278.
 poutš to *pouch*, 220, 330.
 prād *proud*, 171, 291.
 praid *pride*, 175, 286.
 prais *price*, 229.
 prais to *lift with a lever*, 229.
 pratli *gently, softly*, 57, 245.
 pree (but pre ðe) to *pray*,
 204.
 preet to *prate, babble*, 70,
 204, 278.
 preez to *praise*, 204.
 preitš to *preach*, 234, 330.
 prentis *apprentice*, 206, 246.
 prenk *prank, trick*, 59.
 prik to *prick*, 89, 312.

prikl *prickle*, 89.
 prišt *priest*, 187.
 prod to *prick, goad*, 100.
 profit *profit*, 214.
 prog to *collect wood for the*
 bonfire on the fifth of
 November, 278, 315.
 pruiu to *prove*, 163.
 puek *pork*, 322.
 puek *sack*, 105.
 pueli *poorly, ill*, 222.
 pueni *pony*, 105, 218.
 pue(r) *poor*, 222.
 puest *post*, 105, 218.
 puešn *portion*, 223.
 puete(r) *porter*, 223.
 puezi *nosegay*, 218.
 puilpit *pulpit*, 227, 245.
 pūl to *pull*, 112.
 puli *pulley*, 227.
 pulit *pullet*, 227.
 pulp *pulp*, 226.
 pūltis *poultice*, 220, 245.
 pund a *pound*, 111, 300, 337.
 puš to *push*, 227.
 put to *put*, 227, 278, 381.

 rafte(r) *rafter*, 57.
 raid to *ride*, 156, 361.
 raip *ripe*, 156.
 rais *rice*, 229.
 raiet *riot*, 229.
 rait to *write*, 156, 250, 361.
 raiv to *tear*, 156, 258, 361,
 364.
 raiz to *rise*, 156, 310, 361.
 ram *ram*, 57.
 ram to *thrust, press*, 258.
 rām *room*, 171, 263.
 rami *having a strong taste*
 or smell, 57.
 raml to *ramble*, 57, 282.

- rānd round*, 235.
ransak to ransack, 71.
rasl to wrestle, 144, 286, 310.
rāst rust, 171.
ratn rat, 194, 247, 269, 286.
rebit rivet, 212, 245, 283.
red (pret. and pp.) read, 134.
red red, 186.
redi ready, 296.
rediš radish, 200, 245, 327.
redžeste(r) to register, 212, 242.
reedž rage, 204.
reek rake, 70, 312.
reek āt to ramble about.
reel rail, 315.
reen rain, 84, 315.
reen-bou rain-bow, 102.
rees race, 129.
reet rate, 204.
reeðe(r) rather, 70, 306.
reg rag, 59, 315.
reg-le(r) regular, 247.
reik to reach, 138, 312, 383.
reit right, 86, 258, 318.
rekn to reckon, 73, 247.
rens to rinse, 212.
ren (pret.) rang, 59, 367.
ren wrong, 59, 250.
renk rank, 59, 197, 322.
renl to pull the hair of the head, 59.
rest, rest, remnant, 73.
reš rash, 59, 312.
retš wretch, 73.
rib rib, 89.
rid rid, 77.
rīd to read, 130, 381.
rīd reed, 187.
ridl riddle, 136, 311.
ridl sieve, 89, 257.
ridn ridden, 89, 296.
riēl real, 231.
rieþ to reap, 82.
rie(r) to rear, 137.
rieþ wreath, 137.
riezn reason, 231.
rifiuz to refuse, 237.
rift to belch, eructate, 89, 283.
rig back, 117, 315.
rigin ridge of a house, 117, 315.
rik reek, smoke, 150 note, 312.
rikriut to recruit, 239.
rikuve(r) to recover, 226.
rīl reel, 187.
rim rim, 89.
rind rind, 89.
rin to ring, 89, 367, 368.
rin to wring, 89, 367.
rin ring, 317.
rinkl wrinkle, 89.
risiet receipt, recipe, 231.
risiev to receive, 231.
rist wrist, 89.
rīt wright, 118, 318.
ritn written, 89.
riu to rue, 190, 250, 382.
riubub rhubarb, 239, 243.
riuin ruin, 239.
riuk rook, 164, 317.
riume(r) rumour, 239.
rive(r) river, 211.
rīzd rancid (of bacon), 258, 310.
rīzn risen, 89, 310.
Robīsn Robinson, 267.
roe raw, 180.
roet to bray, 184.
roid clearing (of a wood), 109, 300.
rok rock, 100, 214.
rost to roast, 217.
rot to rot, 100.

roul *to roll*, 220.
 rout *wrought*, 101, 318.
 rubiš *rubbish*, 226.
 rudi *ruddy*, 111, 245, 315.
 rueb *robe*, 218.
 rued *road*, 122.
 rueg *rogue*, 218.
 ruep *rope*, 122.
 rue(r) *to roar*, 122.
 ruez *rose*, 105, 310.
 ruf *rough*, 174, 319.
 ruid *rood*, 163.
 ruif *roof*, 163, 283.
 ruit *root*, 163.
 run *to run*, 367, 368.
 runin *running*, 245, 276.
 run wrung, 111.
 rust *rest, repose*, 310.
 ruš *rush*, 97.

 s *shall*, 256, 312, 391.
 s *us*, 350.
 sã *a drain, sough*, 310, 315.
 sã *sow*, 114, 315.
 sad *sad*, 57.
 sadl *saddle*, 71, 296.
 sãdžn *sergeant*, 207, 292.
 sãe(r) *sour*, 172.
 said *side*, 156.
 saiēti *society*, 246.
 sail *to strain through a sieve*,
 156, 315.
 sailm *asylum*, 229, 246.
 sain *sign*, 229.
 saip *to ooze or drain out*
 slowly, 156.
 saið *scythe*, 156, 306, 315.
 saizez *assizes*, 229, 246.
 sãk *to suck*, 171, 310, 312.
 saklēs *simple, silly*, 57, 243.
 sal *shall*, 57, 312, 391.
 sale *sallow*, 57, 243.

saleri *celery*, 210.
 salit *salad*, 194, 245.
 sãmen *sermon*, 207.
 sam *up to pick up, gather to-*
 gether, 57, 263, 310.
 sand *sand*, 57.
 sãnd *sound, noise*, 235.
 sant *saint*, 204, 249.
 sãnt *shall not*, 256, 391.
 sap *sap*, 57.
 sare (sãv) *to serve*, 207, 243,
 258.
 sat *sat*, 57.
 satl *to settle*, 57, 257.
 sãp *south*, 171.
 sãvis *service*, 207.
 sãvnt *servant*, 207, 247, 259.
 sed *said*, 134, 315.
 see *to say*, 84, 315, 382.
 seef *safe*, 204.
 seeg *a saw*, 70, 315.
 seek *sake*, 70, 312.
 seekrid *sacred*, 204.
 seel *sail*, 84, 315.
 seel *sale*, 70.
 seem *lard*, 204, 310.
 seem *same*, 70.
 seent (sant) *saint*, 204.
 seev *to save*, 204.
 seg *to distend*, 59, 315.
 seg *sedge*, 73, 315.
 sek *sack*, 73, 312.
 seki *second*, 346.
 seknd *second*, 344.
 sel (sen) *self*, 73, 283.
 sel *to sell*, 73, 382.
 seldn *seldom*, 73, 247, 269.
 self *self*, 353.
 sen (sel) *self*, 73, 283.
 send *to send*, 73, 381.
 sens *sense*, 206.
 sent *sent*, 73.

senz *sends*, 302
 sen (son) *song*, 59.
 sen (pret.) *sang*, 59, 367.
 senk (pret.) *sank*, 59, 367.
 ses *assessment, to assess, tax*,
 206, 246.
 seš *sash*, 197.
 set *to set*, 73, 310, 381.
 setode *Saturday*, 134.
 seu *to sew*, 190, 250, 382.
 sevm *seven*, 73, 270, 344.
 sevnt *seventh*, 344.
 sevnti *seventy*, 344.
 sevntin *seventeen*, 344.
 sevntint *seventeenth*, 344.
 sevntit *seventieth*, 344.
 sez *sayest, says*, 134.
 se so, 399.
 sed *should*, 256, 312, 391.
 seliut *to salute*, 239, 242.
 se ðe (lit. *see thou*) *look !* 192.
 sī *to see*, 187, 374.
 sī *to sigh*, 158, 318.
 sī *to stretch*, 310.
 sīd *seed*, 130.
 siē *sea*, 137.
 siekrit *secret*, 231.
 siem *seam*, 179.
 siene *senna*, 206, 243.
 siēs *to cease*, 231.
 siet *seat*, 137.
 siez *to seize*, 382.
 siezn *season*, 231.
 sift *to sift*, 89, 283.
 sīk *to seek*, 147, 383.
 sikl *sickle*, 89, 312.
 siks *six*, 77, 320, 344.
 siks-penep *sixpenny worth*,
 251.
 sikst *sixth*, 77, 289, 309, 344.
 siksti *sixty*, 344.
 sikstin *sixteen*, 150, 344.

sikstint *sixteenth*, 344.
 sikstit *sixtieth*, 344.
 sil *sill*, 117.
 sili *silly*, 136, 245.
 silk *silk*, 89.
 silve(r) *silver*, 77.
 sim *to seem*, 147.
 simetri *cemetery*, 209, 243.
 simin-dlas *a looking-glass*,
 mirror.
 simpl *simple*, 348.
 sin *since*, 89, 117, 310, 399,
 400.
 sīn *seen*, 150.
 sind *to rinse, wash out*, 266,
 300, 310.
 sindē(r) *cinder*, 89.
 sinž *to singe*, 76, 277, 315.
 sin *to sing*, 89, 367.
 sink *to sink*, 89, 367.
 siol *single*, 211, 247, 273.
 siste(r) *sister*, 77.
 sit *to sit*, 89, 373.
 sit *sight*, 93, 318.
 sitš *such*, 77, 250, 256, 312,
 357.
 sið *to seethe*, 187.
 siðez *scissors*, 211, 243, 310.
 siu *sowed*, 190.
 siu *to sue*, 239.
 siuelī *surely*, 240, 242, 399.
 siue(r) *sure*, 240, 310.
 siuge(r) *sugar*, 227, 310.
 siuit *suet*, 239.
 siut *suit*, 237.
 siv *sieve*, 89, 283.
 skab *scab*, 57, 312.
 skāe(r) *to scour*.
 skafi *scaffold*, 194, 301, 322.
 skafin *scaffolding*, 194, 301,
 322.
 skaftin *shafting*, 57, 245, 312.

skai *sky*, 175, 312.
 skeelet *scarlet*, 203, 322.
 skeelz *scales*, 70, 204, 312.
 skelp *to beat, flog*, 73, 312.
 skep *a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins*, 73, 312.
 skēf *scurf*, 113, 312.
 skift *to shift, remove*, 89, 312.
 skil *skill*, 89, 312.
 skin *skin*, 89, 312.
 skoud *to scald*, 199, 322.
 skoup *scoop*, 168, 312.
 skraml *scramble*, 57, 312.
 skrat *to scratch*, 57, 312, 381.
 skriptē(r) *scripture*, 211.
 skreep *to scrape*, 70, 312.
 skriem *to scream*, 312.
 skrik *to shriek*, 158, 312.
 skue(r) *score*, 337.
 skuft *the nape of the neck*, 111, 312.
 skuil *school*, 163, 312.
 skul *skull (of the head)*, 111, 312.
 skute(r) *to spill*, 111, 243, 312.
 sl *shall*, 312, 391.
 slafte(r) *to slaughter*, 57, 319.
 slaid *to slide*, 156, 361.
 slaim *slime*, 156.
 slaip *to take away the skin or outside covering*, 156.
 slak *slack*, 57.
 slām *slumber*, 171.
 slāt *to bedabble*, 289.
 slate(r) *to spill*, 310.
 slave(r) *slaver*, 57.
 slœ *to slay*, 65, 375.
 sleen *slain*, 65, 315.
 slek *small coal*, 73, 312.

slek *to extinguish a fire, etc., with water*, 73, 312.
 slen (pret.) *slung*, 59.
 slenk (pret.) *slunk*, 59, 367.
 slept *slept*, 134.
 slī *sly*, 147, 315.
 slidn (pp.) *slid*, 89, 247.
 slin *to sling*, 76, 367, 368.
 slink *to slink*, 89, 367.
 slink *a sneak*.
 slip *to slip*, 89.
 slip *to sleep*, 130, 383.
 slipi *slippery*, 89, 245.
 slit *to slit*, 373.
 slitn (pp.) *slit*, 89.
 sliu *slew*, 164, 315.
 sliv *sleeve*, 150.
 sloe *slow*, 123, 250.
 slop *the leg of a pair of trousers*, 100.
 slot *bolt of a door*, 100.
 sluf *slough*, 169, 315.
 slukn *slunk*, 274, 368.
 slumek *a dirty, untidy person*, 312.
 slume(r) *slumber*, 243, 282.
 slun *slung*, 111.
 smait *to smite*, 156.
 smāt *smart*, 74.
 smel *to smell*, 73, 382.
 smelt *to smelt*, 73.
 smeš *smash*, 59.
 smie(r) *to smear*, 75.
 smitl *to infect*, 89, 247.
 smitn *smitten*, 89.
 smip *smith*, 89, 306.
 smiči *smithy*, 89, 306.
 smivi *smithy*, 306.
 smoel *small*, 62.
 smok *smock*, 100.
 smue(r) *to smother, suffocate*, 104, 260.

smuið *smooth*, 163, 306, 310.
 smūk *to smoke*, 106.
 snaip *snipe*, 156.
 sneek *snake*, 70, 312.
 sneel *snail*, 65, 315.
 snee(r) *snare*, 70.
 snek *the latch of a door*, 73, 312.
 snōt *to sneeze, giggle*, 113.
 sniek *to sneak*, 162.
 snift *to sniff, scent*, 117.
 snig *to take hastily*.
 snik *to cut*.
 snikit *a small passage*, 245, 310, 312.
 sniu *it snowed*, 190.
 sniz *to sneeze*, 187.
 snod *smooth, even*, 100, 306.
 snodn *to make smooth*, 100, 306.
 snoe *snow, to snow*, 123, 250, 377.
 snot *snot*, 100.
 sod *sod*, 100.
 sodnd *saturated, wet through*, 100.
 soe (pret.) *saw*, 63, 318.
 soe *to sow*, 123, 377.
 soes *sauce*, 225.
 soev *salve*, 62.
 soft *soft*, 169.
 soil *soil, ground*, 109, 216.
 soil *sole*, 109.
 sok *sock*, 100.
 solt *salt*, 58.
 son (sen) *song*, 59.
 sore *sorrow*, 100, 243, 258, 315.
 sori *sorry*, 125, 245.
 soče(r) *solder*, 214, 297.
 soudže(r) *soldier*, 220, 328.
 soul *soul*, 123.

sout *sought*, 167, 318.
 spaie(r) *spire*, 157.
 spak (pret.) *spoke*, 57.
 spāk *spark*, 61.
 span (pret.) *span*, 57.
 span *to span*, 57.
 spare *sparrow*, 57, 243, 250.
 spat (pret.) *spat*, 144.
 spatl *spittle*, 125.
 speed *spade*, 70, 278.
 speen *to wean*, 70, 268, 278.
 spee(r) *to spare*, 70.
 speik *to speak*, 87, 310, 312, 372.
 speitš *speech*, 132, 312.
 spek *speck*, 73, 312.
 spektéklz *spectacles*, 206, 242.
 spel *to spell*, 382.
 spend *to spend*, 73, 381.
 spenk *to beat, hit*, 59, 312.
 spē(r) *spur*, 104.
 sperinz *banns of marriage*, 120, 245, 338.
 sperit *spirit*, 213, 245.
 spie(r) *spear*, 75.
 spil *to spill*, 89, 382.
 spin *to spin*, 89, 367.
 spinl *spindle*, 89, 247, 266, 298.
 spit *to spit*, 89, 373.
 spitek *spigot*, 89, 243, 310.
 spiu *to spew*, 159, 250.
 split *to split*, 373.
 spoil *to spoil*, 216, 382.
 spokn *spoken*, 100, 247, 271.
 spot *spot*, 100.
 sprāt *to sprout*, 171.
 spreid *to spread*, 139, 372.
 spreu (pret.) *sprang*, 59.
 sprin *to spring*, 89, 367.
 sprun (pp.) *sprung*, 111.

spuin spoon, 163.
 spun spun, 111.
 st should, 256, 305, 312, 391.
 stāe(r) star, 74.
 staf staff, 57.
 stak (pret.) stuck, 57.
 stāk very, quite, 312.
 stāk mad very angry, 61.
 stākno to grow stiff, stiffen,
 61, 271.
 stamp to stamp, 57.
 stand to stand, 57, 375.
 stapl staple, 71, 196.
 stāt stout, 235.
 stati statue, 245.
 stāv to starve, 74, 283.
 stedi steady, 310.
 steebl stable, 204.
 steek stake, 70, 84, 312.
 steel (pret.) stole, 70.
 steē(r) to stare, 70.
 steevz staves, 70.
 steēz stairs, 141.
 stege(r) to stagger, 59.
 steil to steal, 87, 369.
 steil the handle of a pot or
 jug, 87.
 steim to bespeak, 87, 283,
 310.
 stem stem, 73.
 sten (pret.) stung, 59.
 stenk (pret.) stunk, 59.
 step step, 73.
 step-fače(r) step-father, 192.
 stepsez steps, 338.
 stō(r) to stir, 120.
 sterek heifer, 91, 248.
 sterep stirrup, 162, 243, 315.
 stī sty, ladder, 94, 158, 315.
 stī sty, 125.
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 stun to stun, 111.
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 sup to drink, sup, 174.
 supe(r) supper, 226.
 swaim to climb up a tree or
 pole, 156.
 swaip to sweep off, remove
 hastily, 156.
 swām swarm, 61.
 swāp the skin of bacon, 61,
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 swilinz thin liquid food for
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- swīt *sweet*, 147.
 swoen *sworn*, 104.
 swole *swallow*, 58, 243, 250.
 swole *to swallow*, 80, 243, 315.
 swom *swam*, 58.
 swon *swan*, 58.
 swop *to exchange, barter*, 58.
 swum (pp.) *swum*, 111.
 swun (pp.) *swung*, 111.
- šabi *shabby*, 245.
 šade *shadow*, 57, 243.
 šae(r) *shower*, 172.
 šaft *shaft*, 57.
 šain *to shine*, 156, 361, 363.
 šait *cacare*, 156, 312, 361.
 šaiv *slice*, 156, 312.
 šak *to shake*, 71, 312, 376.
 šakl *shackle*, 71, 312.
 šale *shallow*, 57, 243.
 šap *shape*, 57, 312, 383.
 šap *sharp*, 61.
 šeg *shag*, 59, 315.
 šeed *shade*, 70, 312.
 šeem *shame*, 70, 312.
 šee(r) *share*, 70, 312.
 šeev *to shave*, 70, 283, 382.
 šel *shell*, 73, 312.
 šelf *shelf*, 73, 312.
 šenk *shank*, 59.
 šeped *shepherd*, 134, 243.
 šepste(r) *starling*, 134.
 šeu *to show*, 180, 382.
 še *she*, 350.
 šēt *shirt*, 120.
 šief *sheaf*, 179.
 šie(r) *to shear*, 75, 312, 369.
 šiep *sheath*, 137.
 šift *chemise*, 89.
 šil *to shell peas, etc.*, 77, 312.
 šild *shield*, 78.
- šilin *shilling*, 89, 245, 337.
 šimi *chemise*, 209, 245, 311.
 šin *shin*, 89, 312.
 šip *ship*, 89, 312.
 šip *sheep*, 130, 337.
 šit *sheet*, 150.
 šiuk *shook*, 164, 312.
 šod *shod*, 169.
 šoel *shawl*.
 šoen *shorn*, 104.
 šoet *short*, 104.
 šop *shop*, 100, 312.
 šot *shot*, 100, 312.
 šotn (pp.) *shot*, 100.
 šrād *shroud*, 171.
 šrenk *shrank*, 312.
 šrenk (pret.) *shrunk*, 59.
 šrimp *shrimp*, 89, 312.
 šrink *to shrink*, 89, 312, 367.
 šrukn (pp.) *shrunk*, 111, 274, 368.
 šū *she*, 191, 310, 350.
 šū (pl. šuin) *shoe*, 164, 334.
 šū *to shoe*, 382.
 šuin *shoes*, 163.
 šuit *to shoot*, 191, 381.
 šul *shovel*, 106.
 šulde(r) (šūde(r)) *shoulder*, 112.
 šun *to shun*, 111.
 šut *to shut*, 121, 312, 381.
 šute(r) *to fall*.
 šutl *shuttle*, 121.
 šuče(r) *to shudder*, 111, 243, 297, 312.
 šūče(r) (šulde(r)) *shoulder*, 112.
 šuv *to shove*, 174, 283, 312.
 swie(r) *to swear*, 75.
- t *the*, 306, 341.
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tale tallow, 57, 243, 315.
tăli to agree, be right, 194, 245.
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tăn town, 171.
tap tap, 57.
tarië(r) terrier dog, 208, 243.
tate(r) tatter, 57.
teebl table, 204.
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teel tale, 70, 254.
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tiuk took, 164, 312.
tiuzde Tuesday, 159.
tlād cloud, 171, 312.
tlāk clerk, 207, 323.
tlam to famish, 57, 312.
tlap clap, 57.
tlap to place, put down.
tlāt clout, 171, 312.
tlate(r) to clatter, 57.
tleē clay, 315.
tleem to claim, 204, 323.

- tleg to stick to, as thick mud to the boots, clog, 59, 312.
 tlegi sticky, dirty (of roads), stopped up with dirt, 59.
 tlen (pret.) clung, 59.
 tlenk to beat, flog, 59, 312.
 tletš brood of chickens, 73, 312.
 tlien clean, 137, 312.
 tlie(r) clear, 233, 312.
 tliet coltsfoot, 312.
 tlik to seize, snatch, catch hold of, 117, 312.
 tlim to climb, 89, 281, 312.
 tlin to cling, 89, 312, 367.
 tlip to clip, 89, 117, 312.
 tliu a ball of string or worsted, 96, 190, 312.
 tliiv to cleave, 187, 312, 365, 366.
 tloe claw, 63, 250, 312.
 tloek to scratch with the fingers or claws, 312.
 tlog a shoe with wooden soles, 100.
 tlois close, narrow, 219.
 tlois a field, 109.
 tloiz to close, 219.
 tlok the common black beetle, 100.
 tlok to cluck, 100, 312.
 tlomp to tread heavily, 312.
 tlot clot, 100.
 tlovn cloven, 100.
 tluək cloak, 218, 312.
 tluəp cloth, 122, 312.
 tluəð to clothe, 122, 382.
 tluəvə(r) clover, 122, 312.
 tluəz clothes, 122, 307, 310.
 tluə (pp.) chung, 111.
 tluəstə(r) cluster, 111, 286.
 tluəðə(r) to get closely together, 297.
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 toek to talk, 62, 312.
 toen torn, 104.
 toəz marbles, 346.
 tof tough, 169, 319.
 toidi very small, 109, 285.
 toist to toast, 219, 289.
 top top, 100.
 topin the front part of the hair of the head, 100, 245.
 topl to fall over, 100.
 tot a small beer glass, 100.
 toul toll, 103.
 tout taught, 140, 318.
 trai to try, 229.
 traifi trifle, 229.
 tră-il trowel, 235.
 trāns to beat, flog, 235.
 trap trap, 57.
 trāst to trust, 171, 310.
 treel to drag, 204.
 treen train, 204.
 treid to tread, 87, 372.
 tremł to tremble, 206, 263, 282.
 trešin āt en in walking out and in till weary, or tired out.
 trezə(r) treasure, 206, 243, 310.
 trī tree, 187.
 tribl treble, threefold, 209, 348.
 trim to trim, 117.
 triet treat, to treat, 231, 381.
 trietl treacle, 231, 323.
 triu true, 190, 250.
 triup truth, 190.
 trodn trodden, 100.

trof *trough*, 100, 315.
 trolep *a dirty, untidy person*, 285.
 trons *trance* 200.
 trubl *trouble*, 226.
 trunl *trundle*, 121.
 trunk *trunk*, 226.
 trūez *trousers*, 235, 338.
 tšaid *to chide*, 312.
 tšap *chap*, 186, 312.
 tšapil, tšapl *chapel*, 194, 330.
 tšavl *to nibble at, gnaw, chew*, 57, 312.
 tšeedž *charge*, 203, 330.
 tšeef *to chafe*, 204.
 tšeeme(r) *chamber*, 204, 263, 282, 330.
 tšeendž *change*, 204, 328.
 tšee(r) *chair*, 205.
 tšelte(r) *to clot, coagulate (of blood)*, 254.
 tšeu *to chew*, 190, 312, 382.
 tšerep *to chirp*, 91, 248, 312.
 tšeri *cherry*, 207, 311, 330.
 tšētš *church*, 90, 312.
 tšiene *chinaware*, 229.
 tšiep *cheap*, 179, 312.
 tšiet *to cheat*, 231, 381.
 tšik *cheek*, 181, 312.
 tšikin *chicken*, 89, 312.
 tšilde(r) *children*, 89, 92, 312, 335.
 tšimli *chimney*, 211, 330.
 tšin *chin*, 89, 312.
 tšiuž *to choose*, 187, 312, 365, 366.
 tšiuž-wot *whatever*, 357.
 tšiz *cheese*, 130, 312.
 tšoek *chalk*, 62, 312.
 tšois *choice*, 216, 330.
 tšons *chance*, 200, 330.
 tšont *chant*, 200, 330.

tšoul see § 312.
 tšożn *chosen*, 100, 247.
 tšuek *to choke*, 105, 312.
 tšuf *proud, haughty*, 111, 312.
 tšuk *to throw, pitch*, 226.
 tū *two*, 129, 250, 344.
 tub *tub*, 111.
 tue *toe*, 122.
 tued *toad*, 122.
 tuekn *token*, 122, 247.
 tuen (lit. *the one*) *one of two*, 122, 345.
 tug *to tug, plod*, 111, 315.
 tug en teu (words of nearly the same signification, coupled for the sake of emphasis) *to work hard and strive*.
 tuil *tool*, 163.
 tuip (pl. tīp) *tooth*, 163, 336.
 tul *to*, 97, 285, 400.
 tuml *to tumble*, 111, 263, 282.
 tun *tun*, 111, 226.
 tur *tongue*, 111.
 tup *a ram*, 111.
 tupms *twopence*, 349.
 tusk *tusk*, 111.
 tutš *to touch*, 226.
 tūpri (lit. *two or three*) *few*, 192, 349.
 tuđe(r) *the other*, 169.
 twain *twine*, 156.
 twais *twice*, 156, 250, 348.
 twelft *twelfth*, 73, 289, 309, 344.
 twelv *twelve*, 73, 283, 344.
 twenti *twenty*, 73, 344.
 twentit *twentieth*, 344.
 twig *twig*, 89, 315.
 twil *quill, pen*, 324.

twilt quilt, 211, 254, 324.
 twilt to beat, thrash, 324.
 twin, twin, 89.
 twīn between, 246, 400.
 twinkl to twinkle, 89, 312.
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 twot pudendum fem., 250.

pak thatch, 57, 306, 312.
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 pāznt thousandth, 344.
 pēd third, 90, 261, 344.
 pēdi third, 346.
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 pētīn thirteen, 344.
 pētīnt thirteenth, 344.
 pētīt thirtieth, 344.
 pēzde Thursday, 172.
 pī thigh, 187, 318.
 pibl a smooth round stick
 used to stir porridge with.
 pīf thief, 187, 283.
 pik thick, friendly, in love
 with, 89, 312.
 piml thimble, 177, 247,
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 pin thin, 117.
 pin thing, 86, 273.
 pink to think, 76, 273, 306,
 312, 383.
 pisl thistle, 89.
 poe to thaw, 123, 377.
 poen thorn, 104.
 poil to give ungrudgingly,
 109, 306.
 pout thought, 167, 318.
 praiv to thrive, 156, 283, 306,
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 prast (pret.) thrust, 57.
 prēn busy, throng, 59.

prēpms threepence, 192, 270,
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 preš to thresh, 73.
 prešld threshold, 73.
 pre through, from, 400.
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 pribl threefold, 209, 348.
 prid thread, 130.
 priēp to dispute, contradict,
 179, 306.
 priētn to threaten, 179.
 prif through, 319.
 prift thrift, 89.
 prift (priu) through, from,
 on account of, 116.
 priu threw, 190.
 priu (prift) through, from, on
 account of, 116, 319.
 proe to throw, 123, 377.
 proit throat, 109.
 prosl thrush, 100, 287, 310.
 protl to press on the wind-
 pipe, choke, 100.
 prusn (pp.) thrust, 287.
 prust to thrust, 178, 367, 368.
 pum thumb, 174.
 pune(r) thunder, 111, 243,
 266, 298.

šā thou, 171, 306, 350.
 šai thy, 155, 351.
 šain thine, 156, 352.
 šat (demon. pr. and conj.)
 that, 57, 306, 354. Cp.
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 šāz thou hast, 310, 395.
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 šēe they, 84, 350.
 šēe(r) their, 84, 351.
 šēez theirs, 352.
 šēm (demon. and pers. pr.)
 them, those, 306, 350, 354.

ðen *then*, 108, 306.

ðe *the*, 241.

ðe *thee*, 350.

ðe *they*, 350.

ðe(r) *their*, 351.

ðe(r) *there*, 399.

ðesen, ðesel, ðeseln, ðesenz
themselves, 353.

ði *thy*, 306, 551.

ði *thee*, 155, 350.

ðie(r) *there*, 131, 306, 354,
399.

ðiez *these*, 98, 354.

ðis *this*, 89, 310, 354.

ðisen, ðisel, ðiseln *thysel*,
353.

ðoe *although*, 401.

ue *who*, 122, 250, 355.

ued *hoard*, 104.

u(e)-ive(r) *whoever*, 357.

uek *oak*, 122.

uel *whole*, 122, 317.

ueli *holy*, 122, 245.

uem *home*, 122.

uenli *lonely*, 122, 245.

uep *hope*, 105.

ue(r) *oar*, 122.

ue(r) *hoar*, 122.

ues(t) *hoarse*, 122, 310.

uets *oats*, 122.

uep *oath*, 122.

uez *whose*, 355.

uf *displeasure, an offended
manner, rage*, 315.

ug *to carry*, 111, 315.

ugli *ugly*, 111.

ugo *hip*, 111, 247, 271.

uid *hood*, 163.

uif *hoof*, 163, 283.

uin *to harass, treat badly*,
163.

ulet *owl*, 174, 243.

ulz *bean-swads*, 111.

umbugz *sweets*.

uml *humble*, 226, 247, 263,
282.

umpaië(r) *umpire*, 230.

unded *hundred*, 111, 243,
299, 344.

unde(r) *under*, 111, 400.

undet *hundredth*, 299, 344.

uni *honey*, 111.

unien *onion*, 226.

uni-sukl *honeysuckle*, 174.

unsiaë(r) *uncertain*, 240,
243.

unt *to hunt*, 111.

unë(r) *hunger*, 111, 243, 273.

unkl *uncle*, 226.

up *up*, 174, 400.

upodn *upholden*.

up-reit *upright*.

ut *hot*, 126, 317.

uðe(r) *other*, 169, 357.

uðe(r) *udder*, 174, 297.

uvm *oven*, 107, 270.

uz *us*, 174, 310, 350.

uzbn *husband*, 174, 301, 302,
310.

-v *have*, 395.

vā *vow*, 235.

vaielët, *violet*, 230.

vale *value*, 194, 243.

vali *valley*, 194, 245.

vāment *vermin*, 207, 294.

vāniš *varnish*, 207, 327.

vantidž *advantage*, 246.

vari *very*, 208, 245, 250, 258,
399.

veen *vein*, 204.

vente(r) *to venture*, 206, 288.

vesl *vessel*, 206.

viel *veal*, 231, 250.
 viu *view*, 237, 253.
 vois *voice*, 216, 250.
 voiðe(r) *large clothes' basket*,
 216, 250, 297.

wa *why*, 249.
 wād *ward*, 61,
 wāe(r) *worse*, 74, 260, 343.
 wāf *wharf*, 61, 317.
 waid *wide*, 156.
 waie(r) *wire*, 157.
 waif *wife*, 156, 283.
 wail *while, time*, 156.
 wain *wine*, 156.
 waip *to wipe*, 156, 250.
 wait *white*, 156.
 wait ali, see § 346 note.
 waiz *wise*, 156.
 wak *to beat, flog*, 250, 306.
 wāk *pain, to ache*, 61, 312.
 wāk (noun) *work*, 74, 250,
 259, 312.
 wākes *union, workhouse*,
 243.
 walep *to beat, flog*, 202, 250.
 wām *warm*, 61.
 wan (pret.) *wound*, 301.
 wān *to warn*, 61.
 wap (wop) *to hit, throw*.
 wāp *warp*, 61.
 warend *to warrant*, 202, 250,
 291.
 wāst *worst*, 343.
 wāt *wart*, 61.
 wāte *weekday*, 74, 243, 305,
 313.
 web *web*, 73, 280.
 wed *to wed, marry*, 73, 381.
 wednzde *Wednesday*, 170.
 wedž *wedge*, 73.
 wee *way*, 84, 315.

weed *to wade*, 70, 250.
 weedž *wage*, 250.
 week *weak*, 127.
 weel *whale*, 70.
 ween *to wane*, 70.
 wee(r) *to spend or lay out*
money, 70, 250.
 weest *waste*, 149.
 weeste(r) *a silly, stupid fel-*
low.
 weet *to wait*, 204, 250.
 weev *wave*, 70, 133.
 weeve(r) *to waver*, 70, 250.
 weft *weft*, 73, 283.
 weg *to wag*, 59, 315.
 wegn *wagon*, 59, 247, 271.
 wei *to weigh*, 87, 315.
 weik *the wick of a lamp or*
candle, 87, 312.
 weit *weight*, 93, 318.
 weiv *to weave*, 87, 283, 372.
 wel (noun) *well*, 73.
 wel (adv.) *well*, 399.
 welp *whelp*, 73.
 wen *when*, 108, 317.
 went, *went*, 73.
 wen thong, 59, 250, 273, 306.
 wesp *wasp*, 60.
 west *west*, 73.
 weš *to wash*, 59, 312, 383.
 wešes *washhouse*, 243.
 wet *wet*, 134, 289, 381.
 wetstn *whetstone*, 73.
 weðe(r) *weather*, 73, 297.
 weðe(r) *whether*, 60.
 weðe(r) *the wool of a sheep*
which has already been
shorn at least once before,
 73, 306.
 we *we*, 350.
 wed *would*, 256, 397.
 wēd *word*, 104.

wēk to work, 120, 312, 383.
wēl to whirl, 90.
wēld world, 104.
wēm worm, 120.
wē(r) our, 351.
wē(r) was, were, 396.
wēri to worry, 120, 245, 315.
wesen, wesel, weseln, wesenz
ourselves, 353.
wēsīt worsted, 305.
wēp worth, 74, 306.
wi with, 89, 307, 400.
wī we, 155, 350.
wīd weed, 187.
wīde widow, widower, 89,
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wīepm weapon, 131, 247,
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wīe(r) to wear, 75, 369, 371.
wīe(r) where, 131, 317.
wīeri weary, 149.
wīet wheat, 137, 317.
wīez to wheeze, 131.
wīk quick, alive, 89, 250,
 312.
wīk week, 89, 337.
wīl (adv.) well, 79, 399.
wīl wheel, 187, 250.
wīl will, 89, 397.
wīld to wield, 78.
wīld wild, 92, 254.
wīle willow, 77, 243.
wīmin women, 160, 283.
wīn to win, 89, 367.
wīnd wind, 89.
wīnd to wind, 89, 367, 368.
wīnde window, 89, 243, 250.
wīntē(r) winter, 89.
wīn wing, 76, 250.
wīnk to wink, 89.
wīp to weep, 147.

wīsl to whistle, 89, 287.
wīsnde Whitsuntide, 287.
wīsnde sunde Whitsunday,
 287.
wīspe(r) to whisper, 89.
wīš to wish, 177, 312.
wīšin cushion, 325.
wīšt silent, quiet.
wīt wit, 89.
wītā, wītē? wilt thou? 256,
 397.
wītēk wicket, 286.
wītł large carving knife, 89,
 250, 306.
wītš which, 77, 256, 312,
 355.
wītš witch, 89.
wīđāt without, 400.
wīđe(r) to hurl, throw, 250.
wīu-in whistling (of the
wind).
wīzdm wisdom, wise, 160,
 247.
wīzl weazel, 79.
wīzn to wither, 89, 310.
wōd would, 256, 397.
wōef (wōefl) sickly to the
smell, insipid to the taste,
 62, 250, 319.
wōek to walk, 62, 312.
wōel wall, 62.
wōkn to waken, 58, 247, 271,
 312, 382.
wōks wax, 58.
wōks to grow, 320.
wōl until, 249, 401.
wōnde(r) to wander, 58.
wōnt want, 58, 250.
wōp (wāp) to hit, throw.
wō(r) was, were, 58, 396.
wōt (wōr) what, 58, 250,
 317, 355.

- wote(r)** *water*, 58, 243, 250.
wotive(r) *whatever*, 357.
wotš *watch, to watch*, 58, 312.
wovm *woven*, 100, 270.
wud *wood*, 111.
wue *woe*, 122.
wuem *womb*, 66, 281.
wül *wool*, 112.
wulzi *wollen*, 111.
- wumen** (pl. **wimin**) *woman*, 162, 283, 336.
wun *one*, 126, 344.
wun (pp.) *wound*, 111, 301.
wun (pp.) *won*, 111.
wun-ā *somehow*, 345.
wund *a wound*, 111, 300.
wunde(r) *wonder*, 111.
wuns *once*, 126, 348.
z *is*, 310.
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